

50th Year of Publication

MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE



Grey Rock, Baltimore County.

Photo by A. Aubrey Bodine

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

BALTIMORE

June · 1955

Assistance for Your Family

Would the members of your family know to whom they could turn, if you were not with them? Would responsible, dependable persons be there to help them during a time of stress and strain—and thereafter?

With the First National as your executor and trustee, carefully trained personnel will always be on hand to assist your family when necessary—regardless of how far in the future the need may be.

Call or write our Trust Department today. Let us explain the many services that we may render.

THE FIRST NATIONAL BANK OF BALTIMORE

Resources over \$300,000,000

Member: Federal Deposit Insurance Corp.



MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

VOL. 50, No. 2

JUNE, 1955

CONTENTS

	PAGE
Washington and a "Natural Aristocracy"	77
Theodore R. McKeldin	
The Re-Creation of Grey Rock, Baltimore County	82
Revolutionary Mail Bag: VI Edited by Helen Lee Peabody	93
A Virginian and His Baltimore Diary: II	
Edited by Douglas Gordon	109
The Great Maryland Barrens: II . . . William B. Marye	120
Reviews of Recent Books	143

Annual Subscription to the Magazine \$4.00. Each issue \$1.00. The Magazine assumes no responsibility for statements or opinions expressed in its pages.

FRED SHELLEY, *Editor*

The Magazine is entered as second class matter, at the post office at Baltimore, Maryland, under Act of August 24, 1912.

THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

H. IRVINE KEYSER MEMORIAL BUILDING

201 W. MONUMENT STREET, BALTIMORE 1

GEORGE L. RADCLIFFE, President; JAMES W. FOSTER, Director

The Maryland Historical Society, incorporated in 1844, was organized to collect, preserve and spread information relating to the history of Maryland and of the United States. Its threefold program includes

1. Collection of manuscript and printed materials, maps, prints, paintings, furniture, silver, fabrics, maritime items, and other objects of interest;
2. Preservation of these materials for the benefit of all who care to enjoy them, and exhibition of items which will encourage an understanding of State and National history; and
3. Spread of historical information relating to Maryland and the rest of the country by means of addresses at the Society's home by authorities in various fields; addresses to outside groups by officers and staff of the Society; publication of the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, a quarterly containing original articles about State history; *Maryland History Notes*, a quarterly bulletin of news of the Society and other local historical items, the *Archives of Maryland* and the record of Maryland in World War II under the authority of the State and other serial and special publications.

The annual dues of the Society are \$5.00, life membership \$100.00. Subscription to the Magazine and to the quarterly news bulletin, *Maryland History Notes*, is included in the membership fee as well as use of the collections and admission to the lectures. The library, portrait gallery and museum rooms, are open daily except Sunday, 9 to 5, Saturday, 9 to 4. June 15 to Sept. 15, daily 9 to 4, Saturday, 9 to 1.

TRADITIONAL FURNITURE

From America's outstanding sources . . . in wide open stock selection.

Our workroom offers complete restoration service . . . cabinet-work, refinishing and reupholstering.

FALLON & HELLEN

11 and 13 W. Mulberry St.

Baltimore, 1, Maryland
LEXington 9-3345

SMITH'S BOOK STORE

Established 1876

Special attention to inquiries for books relating to Baltimore and Maryland.

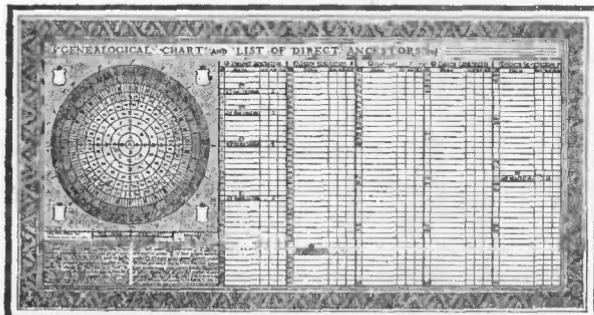


LIBRARIES OR SINGLE
BOOKS PURCHASED



805 N. HOWARD STREET
MU 5-2823 BALTIMORE 1

GENEALOGICAL CHARTS



Denby Chart Blanks—A blank form for listing ancestry

BOOKS

(1) ARCHITECTURE,
(2) PUBLICATION,
(3) TYPE & GENEALOGY,
(4) MUSIC, 100 Songs

Sizes and Prices

Chart	each
16" x 32"	@ \$1.25
20" x 36"	@ 1.50
28" x 44"	@ 1.75
28" x 44"	@ 2.50
28" x 44"	@ 3.75
27" x 40"	@ 4.25

Broadside "America"
in Denby Type
25" x 34" \$3.00 each

1. WATERCOLORS

Reproductions of Watercolors by Edwin H. Denby done during travels over Europe, around the Mediterranean and the Near East. A listing of many subjects in full color and some halftones, with a few pages of text. Book \$10.00 bound, and separate chapters of it at \$3.00 with paper cover.

3. TYPE BOOKS

Printing and Genealogy, Valuable Hints, Speedy Calculations in Els, Schedules of Spacing, Properties and Advantages of the El, details for slotting of type for better Spacing through the El. Price \$10.00.

2. LINCOLNIANA

A GREAT BOOK. A Symposium of many arts, Memorial pages, Eulogy on Washington by Lincoln, Gettysburg Address, Lincoln's Farewell, America, Historic Meeting. Contains also Formulas for Lettering and Type to produce the striking poster pages. School Edition \$2.75, Special \$3.50, DeLuxe \$4.50.

4. 100 SONGS

VICTOR HUGO, and great men, in many countries, foresee the future. They furnish text for many new SONGS now available in the "Solfamization" form with the melody line. Enquire for details and List of Songs.

THE COQ D'OR PRESS, Inc., 333 Fourth Ave., New York 10, N. Y.

MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

A Quarterly

Volume 50

JUNE, 1955

Number 2

WASHINGTON AND A "NATURAL ARISTOCRACY"

By THEODORE R. MCKELDIN¹
Governor of Maryland

IT is an interesting fact which to some people seems ironical that Thomas Jefferson, traditionally regarded as the great protagonist of democracy, is also the man who gave us perhaps our most ringing declaration of faith in government by aristocracy. Jefferson was careful to explain that he meant a "natural" aristocracy, based on "virtue and talents," not on the accident of birth; but "the natural aristocracy," he continued, "I consider as the most precious gift of nature, for the instruction, the trusts, and government of society."²

Note that Jefferson did not stop with committing government

¹ Address delivered at the annual meeting of The Society of the Cincinnati of Maryland, February 22, 1955.

² Jefferson to John Adams, Oct. 28, 1813, in P. L. Ford (ed.), *Works of Thomas Jefferson* (New York, 1904), XI, 343.

alone to the *aristoi*, that is to say "the best." He would have charged them also with education and fiduciary relationships, schools and guardianships, as well as political offices. It is hard to imagine a more vigorous assertion of the doctrine that while men may be created equal, they do not remain equal, and that those who rise by reason of their virtues and talents should alone be trusted with power.

If this was the attitude of Thomas Jefferson, it is needless to inquire further to be assured that the doctrine of equality, except equality before the law, had no part in the thinking of the great founders of the Republic. The law should be equal for all. Opportunity should be equal for all. But the equality applies to the law and to opportunity, not to men. The Founding Fathers believed that the aspiration of men should be toward excellence, not equality; and to a man, including Jefferson, they agreed that excellence should be recognized by the bestowal of power.

I have a second reason for citing Jefferson on this occasion. Not only was he the great exponent of democratic theory, but of all the Revolutionary notables he is least likely to be charged with undue sympathy with the aims and ideals of the Society of the Cincinnati. The famous letter to Mazzei is still remembered without pleasure by the Cincinnati, for while it describes the founders of your order as Solomons in council and Samsons in the field, it was sharply critical of their policy at the time the letter was written.³ Jefferson may therefore be described as in some sense a hostile witness; and it is common knowledge that favorable testimony from a hostile witness is doubly valuable.

The Society of the Cincinnati is a living memorial to the fact that there did arise in this country an aristocracy precisely of the sort that Jefferson described, one based on "virtue and talents" and claiming precedence on no other ground than that of excellence in the public service; and this "most precious gift of nature" was welcomed by the young republic. To deny that the memory of this event should be preserved would be to deny that history should be written; for there is much truth in Carlyle's observa-

³ Jefferson to Phillip Mazzei, April 24, 1796, Ford, *op. cit.*, VIII, 240-241. The specific quotation follows: "It would give you a fever were I to name you the apostates who have gone over to these heresies, men who were Samsons in the field & Solomons in the council, but who have had their heads shorn by the harlot England."

tion that the history of what man has accomplished in this world is at bottom the history of the great men who have worked here.⁴

He might have gone further and said with equal truth that the greatness of a nation survives exactly to the extent that it keeps alive the spirit of its great men, responding to new challenges as they responded to the old, aspiring to the same ideals, dreaming the same dreams. Methods and means change as circumstances change; we cannot fight Washington's battles again with Washington's weapons; but we can face new enemies with the old courage that inspired him and attack new problems with the old devotion.

Above all, we can maintain in modern times the massive integrity that was the foundation of his greatness. Revolutionary America had more learned men than Washington, more brilliant men than Washington, shrewder men than Washington; but nowhere on this continent did there stand a more rigorously upright man than he. Learning, brilliance, adroitness are useful and valuable qualities, but when the times are really desperate all of them combined do not count for as much as sheer character. It was on the anvil of Washington's iron honesty that the heats and hammer-blows of war forged this nation; and it is on honesty that it must be constantly re-forged to maintain the temper of its metal.

Shallow minds are sometimes inclined to sneer at efforts to retain in the modern nation the qualities that made it great in the past. "Ancestor-worship" they call it when we remind youth of the glories of an earlier day. Shallow minds cannot understand that it is not George Washington that we worship but moral excellence; he is useful because he embodied it, exemplified it, made it visible and comprehensible. But no sane man supposes that he created it, and God forbid that we should ever assume that it died with him.

The Society of the Cincinnati when it insists upon reminding the modern generation of the deeds of our illustrious forefathers is in fact creating an aristocratic tradition, but an aristocracy of

⁴ "There is no heroic poem in the world but is at bottom a biography, the life of a man; also it may be said, there is no life of a man, faithfully recorded, but is a heroic poem of its sort, rhymed or unrhymed." John Bartlett, *Familiar Quotations*, 10th edition (Boston, 1915), p. 582.

a kind that even Thomas Jefferson approved, and to which he wished to see the destinies of the nation committed.

For the democracy of America is not direct, but representative. That implies a certain sifting out, a selective process of choosing men to act directly. To the extent that the selection is based upon virtue and talent we have that rule of the best, the *aristoi*, that was Jefferson's ideal. But our besetting sin is that we so often choose, not for excellence, but for some other reason—for our advantage, or through prejudice, or from ignorance and misinformation. Then our system drags through one of those dreary interludes that are the despair of intelligent and patriotic men.

The current crisis in world affairs has thrown upon Americans a greater responsibility than they have ever borne before. In earlier times failure to maintain our ideal of self-government under constitutional checks and balances would have involved ourselves alone in the painful consequences. But if we should fail today we would involve all free nations, for we are in a position of leadership and when a leader fails all his followers pay the penalty. It matters not at all that leadership was forced upon us by the course of events and not attained by our own ambition; what matters is that we are in the van of western civilization whether we like it or not, and we cannot sink to the rear without betraying, not only ourselves, but all free men in all parts of the world.

It happens to be also a moment when the future is obscure to an extent almost without precedent. The upheavals of the 20th century have destroyed many of the old landmarks and raised suspicion as to the validity of others. In politics, in economics, in sociology we simply do not know what lies ahead, but there is every reason to believe that whatever is in store for us will be new and perplexing. All our knowledge, skill, and ingenuity will probably be none too much to carry us safely through this Time of Troubles.

This has led pessimists to cry out that all is lost, that we are on a rudderless ship under an overcast sky with neither star nor compass to guide us. But the pessimists are brought to that dismal conviction by their own fault. They are not even ancestor-worshippers, but worshippers of the institutions that our ancestors created; they have no comprehension of the spirit that inspired

that creative work. They boast of George Washington's victory at Yorktown, of his creation of the office of President, of his organization of the new government and his ability to set it on the right path. These were glorious achievements, to be sure, but infinitely more glorious were the qualities of mind and heart that enabled him to achieve them.

We cannot repeat Washington's feats either of arms or of statecraft; but nothing except our own feebleness of character restrains us from duplicating the greatness of his spirit. If we could do that, we, too, might be Solomons in council and Samsons in the field, trampling underfoot the obstacles that daunt us because they seem insurmountable.

I mean to say that Washington's statecraft, at least in part, is as obsolete as the flintlock musket; but the courage, the honor, the integrity that inspired that statecraft are immortal. Ever new, ever radiant, ever powerful, they can beat down our enemies as effectively as they beat down the foes that beset Washington on every side.

To keep that spirit burnished in the minds and hearts of this generation is the high calling of your Society. It is an honorable mission in which you should have the support of every man who was born free and in every fibre of his being is determined to die free. For to maintain the spirit of freedom in this dark hour is more than patriotism; it is to serve, not America, but all mankind, for today freedom is menaced everywhere in the world and to survive anywhere it must be maintained everywhere.

We cannot all be Washington, but the least among us can, if he will, be like Washington in putting honor above ambition and the welfare of his fellow-men above pride and power. And if we do, the least of us, like Washington, can end by deserving the great epitaph of Mr. Valliant-for-Truth: "So he passed over, and all the trumpets sounded for him on the other side."⁵

⁵ *Pilgrim's Progress*, Part II.

THE RE-CREATION OF GREY ROCK, BALTIMORE COUNTY¹

ON the highest point within ten miles of Baltimore and not far from Pikesville stands the mansion of Grey Rock, mounting guard over the historic estate on which one of Maryland's immortals, Colonel John Eager Howard, was born. Now the home of Mr. and Mrs. Harold Duane Jacobs, the property has been almost re-created and brought to superb condition.

Although it is surrounded by ancient trees and lawns, the Grey Rock house is not yet a century old. Built about 1858 by Dr. James Maynard, the present mansion is located a little south of the site of the old Howard house. The latter, a simple stone affair of one story and a half, was the birthplace of John Eager Howard in 1752. Later owners allowed it to fall into ruin and now not even its foundations are to be seen. Today the private cemetery is the only visual evidence of Howard ownership. A stone-walled enclosure to the north of the house contains the graves of Cornelius Howard, father of John Eager Howard, and of several of his descendants.

As the visitor follows the winding driveway up the rise from Reisterstown Road to the lawn filled with fine elms, tulip poplars, maples, beeches and evergreens, he anticipates a mansion of distinction. He is not disappointed. Twenty-five years of study and planning by its present mistress have resulted in complete harmony between the enlarged house and its splendid setting.

The Grey Rock house is built of native grey stone stuccoed and painted white. Originally it was an L-shaped structure in a modified Italian villa design, so popular in Victorian days. The great portico which in recent years has replaced the original one-story porch bears a marked resemblance to that at Mt. Vernon except

¹ This account is the result of collaboration between Mr. and Mrs. Jacobs, Mrs. Norris Harris and the Director of the Society, with the assistance of Miss Mary G. Howard, Mr. and Mrs. Gaylord Lee Clark, Miss Mary Hope Maynard and many others who kindly answered inquiries. For photographs of Grey Rock in former days the *Magazine* is indebted to Mrs. Herrick F. Kidder and Mr. Norris Harris. Miss Maynard and other kindly lent photographs for study.

that there are six columns instead of eight. The hexagonal brown brick flooring is copied from the same source. The entrance is through a double door, topped by a fanlight, leading into the central hall. Here the theme of the 18th century English country house strikes the keynote that is reflected throughout the first floor. Immediately on the right is the drawing room and opposite it the library, both unchanged in size. At the end of the hall is the original arched doorway, now leading to the ballroom, which has been added by the present owner and is furnished as a drawing room. West of it is the original dining room, now greatly enlarged. Since the furnishings include antique pieces of distinction as well as rare works of art of more recent date, a brief account of each room on the main floor will be of interest.

In the hall the visitor finds immediately on his left a full length portrait of Mrs. Jacobs, painted by Augustus John. There is a handsome gilt eagle table with an early gilt Georgian mirror above it. Nearby is a grandfather clock, made by Alex. Cumming, London, 1785, of walnut with inlaid satinwood and brass eagle finials. There is a story about this clock, acquired many years ago by Mrs. Jacobs in London. "Do you want modern works installed?" inquired the dealer. "Oh, no, that would be desecration," replied Mrs. Jacobs. Naturally, when it was placed in its present position no thought was given to having it put in running order. No one was more surprised than she, twenty years later, to learn from a visiting clockmaker that a minor repair was all that was needed. The clock is now faithfully striking the hours and chiming the quarter-hours, keeping perfect time.

The library at the left is paneled in dark native pine. The room is a replica of the Sutton Scarsdale room from Derbyshire, England, now in the Philadelphia Museum. The elaborate carving of the original woodwork has been reproduced with all its intricate design of birds, fruit and flowers. The depth of this carving is a modern marvel. The most striking furnishings are twin Queen Anne chests of drawers in oyster burl walnut and a pair of Queen Anne walnut side chairs having the original needlepoint seat covers. These and other pieces in this room were originally in various English estates. Two bronzes by Rodin, "The Wrestler" and "Mother and Child," provide striking accents. Over the mantel hangs a portrait of the late A. Ray Katz, first husband of

the present owner, painted by Sir William Orpen, whose portrait of Mrs. Jacobs' father, the late Jacob Epstein, is in the Epstein Gallery of the Baltimore Museum of Art.

Opposite the library is the drawing room, a replica of a room from Wrightington Hall, Lancashire, England, now in the Philadelphia Museum. The walls are painted a soft blue, like the original, and the draperies are golden. The furniture is of satinwood in the delicate design of the 18th century. Two niches containing a collection of Barye miniature bronzes flank the polychrome terra cotta head of Mrs. Jacobs by Jo Davidson, placed on a pedestal in the large bay window.

At the entrance to the ballroom a stair hall leads off at the left. Passing through the ballroom doorway the visitor descends a short sweeping stairway that was inspired by the staircase in Tulip Hill, the Galloway home on West River. The ballroom was added by Mrs. Jacobs about 25 years ago and is of imposing dimensions. It was the work of the late Benjamin Frank, the Baltimore architect, who specialized in 18th century restoration and spent several years in rebuilding Grey Rock in accordance with the owner's ideas.

According to notes written by Mr. Frank,

the salon of Whitehall, Anne Arundel County, was used as the principal source for the entrance way to the open air terrace, and the ornamentation was repeated in several other features. Whitehall was built about 1750 by Governor Horatio Sharpe.² The scale of the ballroom at Grey Rock is about two-and-a-half times that of Whitehall. The window trim (in the traditional rope motif descending into large 'ears') and that of subordinate doorways had their origin in the Chase House, built by Edward Lloyd in Annapolis in 1770.

The mantelpiece was inspired by one in the Mundy house in Dumfries, Prince William County, Virginia, built in 1756. The ornamentation, however, was taken from the doorway detail in the salon of Whitehall. The only exceptions in this ornamentation are the shell and scrolls on the frieze of the mantel shelf, which were copied from a mantel in the Brice House of Annapolis, built by 1740, by Thomas Jennings.

All the houses mentioned were built within thirty years of each other. The woodwork carving and ornamentation were instituted by indentured servants and slaves. Practically all the material at that time was Maryland white pine. However, in the ballroom of Grey Rock northern white pine was substituted.³

² Recent research has established 1764 as the date of the building of Whitehall.—*Ed.*

³ Statement in possession of Mrs. Jacobs.

The furniture in the ballroom, including the silver, glass and porcelain, consists of English antiques selected by Mrs. Jacobs in London over a period of years. The walls are painted the soft green seen in the ballroom of the Governor's Palace at Williamsburg. The portraits are all in keeping with the 18th century theme. There are two by Gilbert Stuart: one of Lucia Gray, the other of John Fitzgibbon. Others are Lady Hayes, painted by John Hoppner, and Richard, second Earl of Scarborough, by J. B. Van Loo.

Perhaps the most unusual piece of furniture is a delicate ribbon-back Chippendale settee of mahogany, the identical piece featured in *The Dictionary of English Furniture*.⁴ The pair of Chinese Chippendale side chairs are also very rare, as there exist in this country only a few examples, most of them in the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

The Sheraton breakfront bookcase is so massive that the wall paneling around it was designed to frame its unusual proportions. Its doors retain the original diamond-shaped convex panes. It houses a collection of fine porcelain, including a set of Coalport soup and service plates decorated with double coats-of-arms, those of husband and wife. Other pieces are a dessert service of Rockingham in dark red and gold, with the original compotes and smaller dishes for sweets, and an old Spode tea and coffee service in dark green and gold.

Near a window is a Chippendale loo game table having the original green baize covering, with matching silver candlesticks at the four corners. The latter date from circa 1690. A chess board of English design has contrasting squares of enamel and mother-of-pearl and the pieces are hand-carved ivory in red and white. An expert recently pronounced the set about 200 years old and one of the finest examples of Burmese ivory.

The twin chandeliers are replicas of those in the ballroom of the Governor's Palace at Williamsburg, Virginia. The wall sconces in the ballroom at Grey Rock were made with three branches instead of one, as at Williamsburg.

The dining room, which opens off the small hallway and also directly from the ballroom, is a replica of the "great chamber" in the Mount Pleasant mansion in Fairmount Park, Philadelphia,

⁴ By Percy Macquoid and Ralph Edwards (London, 1924), III, 94.

at one time the home of Benedict Arnold. The room has been lengthened and widened to nearly double its original size. The walls are of the color called "ashes of roses" in accord with the original at Mount Pleasant.

According to a description by Emily Lantz in *The Sun* of January 28, 1906, the grounds of Grey Rock then abounded in Norway spruces, larches, horse chestnuts and maples with a double row of evergreens lining the approach drive. Impressive the setting remains, but many of the old trees have been victims of disease or storms. However, most of the evergreens survive. Each of the recent hurricanes has taken its toll and brought anguish to the hearts of the owners and their friends, but meticulous and loving care assure a continued atmosphere of calm and beauty.

With real vision Mrs. Jacobs has made several gardens which add to the charm of the estate. From the great east doorway of the ballroom one steps directly upon a rectangular stone-paved terrace which is sheltered by an ancient elm. Farther east and almost out of earshot from the house is the green garden. Simple in design, dominated by a huge tulip poplar and surrounded by double hedges, one of dwarf box and one of clipped English yew, the spot is a restful retreat. The only ornament is a three-tiered iron fountain.

To the west of the lawn lies the rose garden of oval design. Approaching from the house, the visitor finds his interest in this garden must be shared with the view of rolling hills and valleys that lie beyond.

The one remaining structure of the Howard regime is the two-story dairy and smoke-house combined, immediately behind the present mansion. The rugged masonry of its period is obvious on the northern side, dominated by a huge chimney. A few hundred yards farther north are two buildings dating from the Victorian period. Originally they were barns—the larger one for the farm animals and implements, the smaller for saddle and coach horses and vehicles.

Beyond these buildings and the residence of the manager, is the Howard family graveyard, enclosed by a stone wall and shaded by a catalpa and sassafras trees. About 50 by 50 feet, the plot is still Howard property. When the estate passed out of the hands of Howard descendants in 1857, the graveyard was specific-

ally reserved. Generations of Howards have believed that the first settler, Joshua, and his wife were interred there. If so, their tombstones have entirely disappeared. One record says that their gravestones were clearly visible in 1848.⁵ Some accounts report that the whole space was once filled by graves and that several fieldstones designated the burial place of favorite slaves.⁶ The care of the graveyard has been provided sometimes by the present owners and sometimes by the Howards and the present perfect condition is a tribute to all concerned. Last year a new marble tombstone for Cornelius, father of John Eager, was erected complete with handsomely carved armorial bearings. Today the old weather-worn stone on which the inscription is now barely visible, lies flat above the grave and at its head stands the new stone, an exact copy. The inscription is:

Sacred to the Memory
of
Mr. Cornelius Howard
Who departed this Life on the
14th of June 1777
Aetat 70
He was a Tobacco Planter in the
County of Baltimore,
Lived much esteemed,
And died regreded by all.⁷

⁵ Rev. Ethan Allen in *The Garrison Church* [St. Thomas Episcopal] edited by the Rev. Hobart Smith (New York, 1898), Part III, p. 132. Readers are cautioned against confusion in numbering of Allen's pages from page 129 to 134. Part III begins with a second set of page numbers from 129 on.

⁶ The other gravestones now legible are those of Cornelius, II (1754-1844), his sister Ruth (Mrs. Charles Elder) (1747-1827); her son Charles Elder (died 1829, aged 53); Sally, his wife (died 1838, aged 66); Rebecca, their daughter (died 1873, aged 29); Mrs. Ruth Shipley (Mrs. William H.) (died 1854, aged 53); and Ruth E. Shipley, her daughter (died 1850, aged 28).

⁷ To many it will be surprising to learn that a still older stone exists and is covered by the present flat stone. In other words, stone No. 1 lies prone above the grave. On top of it lies stone No. 2, bearing a weathered coat-of-arms and the inscription that has been quoted. Stone No. 3 is a duplicate of No. 2. No. 1 bears no arms. It is engraved merely with the words "Mr. Cornelius Howard. Died 14 June 1777, aet. 70." An old photograph shows it broken in several pieces and with the inscription just quoted incised in large characters. It is assumed that this is the original stone and that it was placed as a headstone soon after the death of Mr. Howard. When and why stone No. 2, with the elaborately carved coat of arms was erected as a head stone is not known. An article entitled "The Howards of Maryland" by Elizabeth Read in the *Magazine of American History* for April, 1879 (III, 239-249), reproduces the arms from this stone with the comment: "The escutcheon given at the foot of this article is from his tomb." Mrs. Read begins her account of the Howards with a reference to "their supposed ancestry, the Norfolk-Howards in the Kingdom of Great Britain." Burke's *Peerage*

The first Howard to settle in Baltimore County was Joshua Howard, Colonel John Eager Howard's grandfather, who in 1698 took up 150 acres including the present Grey Rock and gave it the name "Howard's Square" because, it is said, the tract was shaped like a carpenter's square.⁸ This was at a time when the upland areas of Baltimore county were being settled, following occupation of the lands along the principal streams by the settlers who first ventured into the virgin wilderness. Comparatively little is known of Joshua. His relationship, if any, to Cornelius and Joseph Howard of Anne Arundel County who had arrived in Maryland thirty years earlier, has never been determined.⁹ According to the lengthy obituary of Colonel Howard, printed in the *Baltimore American* and also in the *Baltimore Gazette* on October 15, 1827, Joshua Howard was a native of Manchester, England. As a youth and against his father's wishes, he joined the army of James II and participated in the defeat of the Duke of Monmouth's army at Sedgemoor. According to this account, he "was afterwards afraid to encounter his parent's displeasure, and came to seek his fortune in America." This was about the year 1685.¹⁰

does not sustain this idea, however, and it is known that the late Wilson Miles Cary, a genealogist of unimpeachable reputation, stated that there was no basis for the theory. Reliable information on the origin of the Howards is found in the statement of Col. Howard himself in a notebook once owned by J. Howard McHenry (1820-1888), grandson of Col. J. E. Howard, now in the possession of Mr. Gaylord Lee Clark. This quotes an original statement by Col. Howard, dated Feb. 17, 1810, and adds much later family data. The book is hereafter cited as "Howard McHenry record." Another useful source is a copy by the late Miss Rosa Howard of a MS book of Dr. J. McHenry Howard (another grandson of Col. Howard), hereafter called "Dr. Howard's record."

The arms on stones 2 and 3 appear to be those of the Howards of Norfolk. The motto on the stones is "Desir N'a Repose," which is that of the English Howards, though not that now used by the Howards of Norfolk.

⁸ Patents, Liber CD, folio 1, Hall of Records. A tract of 500 acres was taken up Jan. 28, 1698, by Alexander Lumley, who then assigned 150 acres to Joshua Howard. Also Baltimore County Rent Roll, folio 163, Maryland Historical Society.

⁹ Genealogies of the Anne Arundel Howards are to be found in Harry W. Newman, *Anne Arundel Gentry* (Baltimore, 1933), pages 237-308; Joshua D. Warfield, *Founders of Anne Arundel and Howard Counties* (Baltimore, 1905), p. 67-77; Henry R. Evans, *Progenitors of the Howards of Maryland* (Washington, D.C., [1938]), pp. 7-10. For more than 100 years the connection, if there is any, between these two families of similar given names, has been a mooted affair.

Notes on the Howards of Baltimore City and County are found in Lawrence B. Thomas, *The Thomas Book* (New York, 1897), pp. 362-364; Elizabeth Read, "The Howards of Maryland," *Magazine of American History*, April, 1879; Allen, *The Garrison Church*, p. 39; Part III, 131-134, and elsewhere in the Society's source materials.

¹⁰ These identical newspaper accounts, more than a column long, were obviously based on information supplied by the family, doubtless by one of the sons of the



OLD HOWARD HOUSE AT GREY ROCK, WEST FRONT



GREY ROCK AS IT APPEARED UNTIL RECENT YEARS



THE LIBRARY, WITH A GLIMPSE OF THE HALL

THE DINING ROOM, LOOKING NORTH





THE BALL ROOM AT GREY ROCK, LOOKING NORTHEAST

Joshua married an Irish lady, Joanna O'Carroll, and they became the parents of seven children. At his death "Howard's Square" went to Cornelius, the second son, his elder brother Francis having left the country. The will of Joshua, probated in 1738, and now filed at the Hall of Records, Annapolis, calls Cornelius "my dear and well beloved son" and made him sole executor.¹¹ It refers to Howard's Square as "my dwelling plantation." The four daughters must have been provided for by dowries for each received by will "just one cow and calf and one shilling sterling and no more." Cornelius in 1738 married Ruth Eager, the daughter and heir of John Eager. Since her father owned much land in what is now the heart of Baltimore and her oldest brother George was lost at sea, Mrs. Cornelius Howard became possessed of extremely valuable property.¹²

Cornelius Howard acquired additional land and was an important figure in the neighborhood, serving as one of the original wardens of St. Thomas Church when it was established in 1745 as a chapel of ease of St. Paul's for the inhabitants living in "the Forest," as this section was then called.¹³ Three of the sisters of Cornelius married into the Gist family, while Elizabeth, the youngest daughter, became Mrs. William Welles. Her place in family lore is assured by the episode in which her future husband played the hero. It appears that there were two ardent suitors for her hand. One day when riding horseback escorted by both gentlemen, she came to a swollen stream. In fording it Miss Howard lost her seat and fell into the water. The favored suitor unhappily made for land, but Mr. Welles leaped into the water and rescued the lady. The old chronicler adds that "she very wisely married him."¹⁴

Cornelius and Ruth were the parents of 11 children, the sixth having been John Eager, who was born June 4, 1752, in the old stone house already mentioned.¹⁵ There is no occasion here to

deceased. The same statement concerning Joshua Howard is also found in the Howard McHenry record.

¹¹ Wills, Baltimore County, Liber 1, f. 296, Hall of Records.

¹² Allen, Part III, p. 132; Howard McHenry record; John T. Scharf, *Chronicles of Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1874), p. 423.

¹³ Allen, pp. 38-39, Part III, 132, 184.

¹⁴ Allen, Part III, pp. 131-132; Dr. Howard's record, p. 25.

¹⁵ Allen, p. 39; Part III, p. 132; will of Cornelius Howard, Wills, Baltimore County, Liber 3, f. 355, Hall of Records; St. Thomas Episcopal Church Register, p. 11, copy in Md. Hist. Soc.

review the career of this distinguished man, who won the admiration of Maryland and of the nation for his private and public qualities. In 1776 he promptly answered the call to arms, was commissioned a captain and fought throughout the Revolution, except for intervals when he returned home on the occasion of his father's death, and again after being wounded at the Battle of Eutaw Springs. Promoted to colonel, he was voted a medal for gallantry in the Battle of Cowpens. In 1784 he was elected to the Continental Congress and then became the fifth governor of the State of Maryland, serving three one-year terms, 1788-1791. Thereafter he was elected to the legislature, served in the United States Senate for nine years and declined the offer of President Washington to be Secretary of War. He built the handsome residence Belvedere near what is now Calvert and Chase Streets, Baltimore, where he and his wife, Peggy Chew, dispensed hospitality on a large scale. He busied himself with his plantations and with managing his extensive city properties. From the Eager family through his mother he inherited a large portion of the west central section of the city. His various gifts of land for religious and patriotic purposes were capped by the presentation of the site of the Washington Monument.

At the death of Cornelius Howard, the Grey Rock property passed to his youngest son, James, a bachelor, veteran of the War and a famous sportsman, who lived there until his death in 1806.¹⁰ In the division of his property among his brothers and sisters Howard's Square was acquired by his brother Cornelius, second of the name, also a bachelor. He was a Howard with a difference. He had remained loyal to Britain, though he did not don a uniform, and, like other Tories, had to pay double taxes on his property. He evidently retained his standing in the community, or regained it when the contest was over, for he became famous as an arbitrator and served in the House of Delegates and as judge of the Orphans Court. Shortly before his death in 1844 he sold part of Howard's Square to his great nephew, George

¹⁰ Allen, Part III, p. 134; Dr. Howard's record, p. 45. The will of Cornelius (see note 15) left to his wife the dwelling plantation and lots in Baltimore Town not already leased, sold or disposed of by the will, together with three Negro men and two Negro women. The daughters likewise received one or two Negroes each and a grandson, George Howard Elder, was given a Negro boy. One of the witnesses was Thomas Cradock, son of the first rector of St. Thomas Church. The Cradock and Howard families were near neighbors and both John Eager Howard and his brother James were members of the Garrison Church vestry.

Howard Elder, son of his sister, Ruth and her husband, Charles Elder.¹⁷ The remainder passed into Elder's possession a few years later.

After more than a century and a half of Howard ownership, the property was acquired in 1857 by Dr. James Maynard, member of a Maryland family who had practised medicine in Mississippi and accumulated a competence.¹⁸ He it was who abandoned the old Howard house and built the original part of the present mansion. The architect for the structure is said to have been the designer of the First Presbyterian Church, Baltimore, erected 1855-1859.¹⁹ He was Nathan G. Starkweather who built many homes in the Baltimore suburban area in the Italian villa style. Dr. Maynard is believed to have changed the name to Grey Rock, in recognition of the native grey stone of which the house was constructed.

Dr. Maynard had a brother Owen, sometime vestryman of St. Thomas, who died in the west leaving a wife and three children. Being a bachelor, the doctor invited his sister-in-law to bring her children and make their home at Grey Rock. She did so but the arrangement was not for long. On June 8, 1861, as the clouds of war hung over the country, Dr. Maynard died.²⁰ He bequeathed Grey Rock to his brother Richard F. Maynard and to Mrs. Owen Maynard. The latter's interest was soon acquired by Richard.

In 1862 a deed of confirmation was given by the Elders to Richard Maynard, confirming his title as devisee and trustee under the will of Dr. Maynard. This instrument was required by the fact that the original deed from Elder to Maynard had been destroyed by fire in the office of the county clerk and never recorded.²¹ Richard Maynard was both a county planter and business man in Baltimore where he operated an agricultural supply store. No doubt he was interested in maintaining Grey Rock in a high state of improvement.

¹⁷ Deeds, Baltimore County Court House, Liber TK No. 326, f. 457; will of Cornelius Howard, II, Wills, Baltimore County, Liber 20, f. 10, Hall of Records, and Agreement for division of his property, Deeds, Baltimore County, Liber AWB 350, f. 103, Baltimore City Court House.

¹⁸ Alice N. Parran, *Series II of "Register of Maryland's Heraldic Families"* (Baltimore, [1938]), pp. 230-231; Emily E. Lantz, *Sunday Sun*, Jan. 28, 1906; statement of Miss Mary Hope Maynard, April 22, 1955.

¹⁹ Lantz's article.

²⁰ *The Sun*, June 10, 1861, p. 2, col. 4.

²¹ Confirmation of Dr. James Maynard's deed, dated Jan. 16, 1862. Baltimore County Deeds, Liber 34, f. 52. Also statement of Miss Maynard, great niece of Dr. Maynard, April 22, 1955; Parran, p. 231.

In 1882 Mr. Maynard disposed of the original tract, now expanded to 224 acres, for the sum of \$18,000. The new owner was William Baker Graves, a wealthy Baltimore merchant.²² He was a descendant and namesake of William Baker, whose portrait by Tilyard, together with that of his wife, hangs in the gallery of the Maryland Historical Society.

Though several tracts of land were sold off from time to time, the Graves family retained the main Grey Rock estate till 1909 when it passed to Mrs. William H. Emory and her sister Miss Laura Hunt. The consideration for the 50 acres thus disposed of, including the house, was \$33,000. The new purchasers made their home at Grey Rock. In 1923, some years after Miss Hunt's death, Mrs. Emory sold the property to the late A. Ray Katz, official of the American Wholesale Corporation which had been founded many years before by his father-in-law, Jacob Epstein, capitalist and art patron.²³

The original 150 acres of Howard's Square, increased from time to time to 224 acres, has been gradually reduced through the sale of various small tracts. The Graves family in 1895 sold a fraction of an acre to enlarge Alto Dale, the adjoining estate on the west, owned by Dr. John F. Goucher. This property is now the home of Mr. Jacob Blaustein. In the same year another fraction was sold to the trustees of Stone Chapel, the grounds of which were originally acquired from Dr. William Lyon. This Greek Revival structure was built by the Methodists in 1862 as the second home of a flourishing congregation in which Cornelius Howard, II, the Tory, and his great nephew, George H. Elder, were active workers.

A tract of 24 acres was acquired in 1899 by the late W. Irvine Keyser and another of 15 acres by the late Redmond C. Stewart in 1903. These properties lay on the north boundary and were made accessible by the cutting through of Park Heights Avenue.²⁴ The size of the Grey Rock estate at present is 65 acres.

²² Deeds for these and later transfers of title are available in the Baltimore County Court House.

²³ See *The Jeffersonian* (Towson), Oct. 28, 1932, and *The Sun* (Baltimore), March 11, 1953.

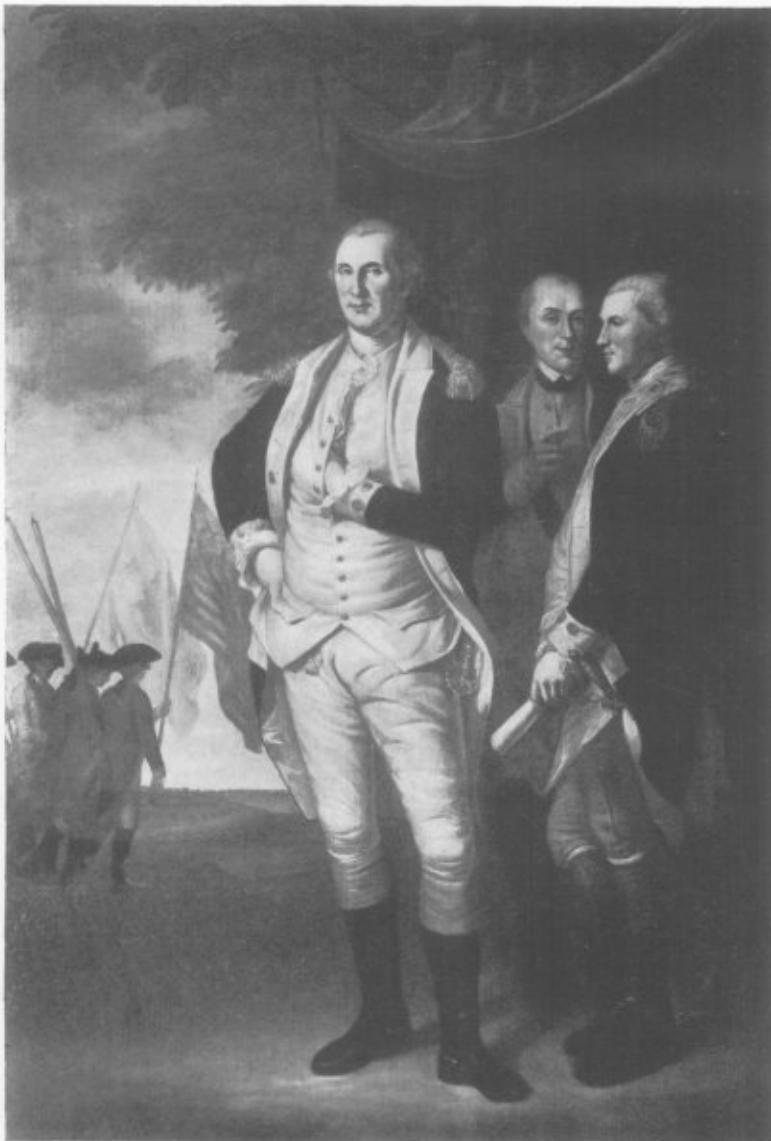
²⁴ See *Atlas of Baltimore . . .* (Philadelphia, G. M. Hopkins, 1877), II, 46, and *Atlas of Baltimore County* (Philadelphia, G. W. Bromley, 1898), plate 14.



OLD HOWARD HOUSE AT GREY ROCK

By FRANK B. MAYER, 1846

This pencil drawing owned by Miss Mary Greenwood Howard is probably the oldest view of the house known as Howard's Square. Almost at a right angle to the east front of the stone house stood a separate building, reputedly of log construction, which served either as overflow accommodation for Cornelius Howard's large family or as combination kitchen and service quarters. The drawing is signed "F. M. 1846." This reproduction is actual size.



GENERAL WASHINGTON, GENERAL LAFAYETTE, and
LT. COLONEL TILGHMAN

Charles Willson Peale, commissioned by the House of Delegates to paint a portrait of George Washington, added the figures of Lafayette and Tilghman. The painting still hangs in the State House.

Photo courtesy Walters Art Gallery

REVOLUTIONARY MAIL BAG: GOVERNOR THOMAS SIM LEE'S CORRESPONDENCE

PART VI

Edited by HELEN LEE PEABODY

(Concluded from Vol. 50, No. 1, March, 1955, p. 46)

THIS is the sixth and final installment in the series of letters and documents illustrating the service of Thomas Sim Lee as Governor of Maryland during the American Revolution.

Among the most valued papers in our collection are two letters connected with Admiral de Grasse. The first is the draft of the letter sent to de Grasse by Governor Lee on October 16, 1781, which brought an answer from the Admiral, dated the 18th, in which he casually remarked:

Ld. Cornwallis has surrendered, which perhaps you will not have heard before this reaches you. . . .

This great news of the actual surrender at Yorktown, Lee lost no time in communicating to Congress in Philadelphia, and we have the acknowledgment of this communication in a letter to Lee from Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer, in our collection. The news received from Lee could, however, scarcely be believed in Philadelphia, until corroborated by the official announcement from General Washington. This arrived two days later, Washington's Aide, Col. Tench Tilghman, who carried the General's dispatches, having been unavoidably delayed by a series of misfortunes. The delay Tilghman explained in a letter to the General, dated October 27, 1781.¹ He said he had "found that a letter from Count de Grasse to Governor Lee, dated the 18th, had gone forward to Congress . . ." with the news of the surrender. Thus two Marylanders, Lee and Tilghman, played essential roles in giving the important news to Congress.

¹ Printed in Oswald Tilghman, *History of Talbot County* (Baltimore, 1915), I, 26, and in Jared Sparks, *Correspondence of the American Revolution* (Boston, 1853), III, 434-435.

DANIEL CARROLL AND JOHN HANSON TO THOMAS SIM LEE²

(Hall of Records, Annapolis)

Dear Sir:

The contents of the inclosed³ appear of such consequence that the expresses are immediately to be sent for, one to proceed by land and the other by water, from Head of Elk.

We have likewise thought it proper to forward Copy to you, not doubting but that you will think the intelligence of sufficient consequence to require a fast sailing boat to proceed with it to the Count De Grasse, lest the Letters sent by the President meet with some delay.

Daniel Carroll

John Hanson

THOMAS SIM LEE TO ADMIRAL DE GRASSE

(Draft in T. S. Lee Collection)

Annapolis, half after 4 o'clock

Tuesday Morning, October 16th, 1781

Sir,

The enclosures I received at three this morning, and as the information they contained is of very high importance, I have judged it expedient to take every possible chance of conveying it speedily to your Excellency.

Therefore, in addition to the dispatches sent by Congress over Land and by Water from the Head of Elk, I have the honor to send this by a fast sailing Boat from this Port.

The Enclosure No. 1 is a Copy of a Letter from Major General Heath, commanding the American Army on the North River, to the President of Congress, and No. 2 contains the intelligence which the General refers to.

I have the honor to be with
the most respectful attachment

Your Excellency's
Mo. obent. and Mo. Hble. Sert.

Tho. S. Lee

² Printed in *Archives of Maryland*, XLVII, 522.

³ The enclosure referred to, a copy of a letter from Maj. Gen. William Heath to Thomas McKean, President of Congress, dated October 7 and printed in *ibid.*, is explained in the letter from Governor Lee to Admiral de Grasse.

Enclosure No. 1⁴

From Major Gen. Heath commanding American Army on North River to His Excellency, the President of Congress.

Headquarters
Continental Village

Sir:

Between twelve and one o'clock this morning, I received the inclosed intelligence through a channel which generally afforded such as has been authentic.

Enclosure No. 2

"The distresses of the Tories and Loyalists at New York, as well as the principal officers of their Army, for Lord Cornwallis is hardly to be described."

My correspondent informs me that they put the *Issue of the Contest* almost upon his defense or defeat—the latter they expect, and almost realize his capture.

Admiral de Grasse's reply, written from his Flagship on the 18th and received by Lee on the 20th, was immediately translated from the French by Charles Carroll of Carrollton, to be transmitted post-haste to Congress in Philadelphia.

ADMIRAL DE GRASSE TO THOMAS SIM LEE⁵

(Papers of Continental Congress, National Archives)

Sir: I have the honor to thank Yr. Excellency for Yr. news which you have been pleased to communicate.

I have just desired Gen. Washington to send me back my troops, of which probably he will no longer stand in need, as Ld. Cornwallis has surrendered, which perhaps you will not have heard before this reaches you; as soon as they are embarked, I shall quit the Bay of Chesapeake &

⁴ These enclosures, extracts from the letter cited in note 3, are found in the Washington MSS, Library of Congress.

⁵ Printed in *Archives of Maryland*, XLVII, 526.

See Charles Carroll of Carrollton to his father on Oct. 20 (Carroll MSS, Md. Hist. Soc.): "I give you joy on the surrender of Ld. Cornwallis. . . . This glorious news is just come to town & I have had the pleasure of communicating it to the Public by turning into English Count de Grasse's letter to the Governor dated on board la ville de Paris of 18th instant."

Again, five days later, "I had the pleasure of breakfasting on monday morning at the Governor's with Col. Tilghman, express from Gen. Washington to Congress."

I will endeavor still to contribute to the welfare of the U. S. in stopping, if I can, Sir Henry Clinton.

I have the honor to be with the most
respectful attachment
Yr. Excellency's
Most obdt. hum. Sert.
De Grasse

La Ville de Paris
18th Oct. 1781

THOMAS SIM LEE TO THOMAS MCKEAN
(Papers of the Continental Congress, National Archives)

Public Service

His Excellency

The President of Congress, Philadelphia
To be forwarded by Night and by Day with the utmost Dispatch.
Lord Cornwallis surrendered the Garrison of York to General Washington the 17th Oct.

Thos. S. Lee

Received at 2 o'clock
A. M. Oct. 22nd, 1781—
by Tho. McKean ⁶

Annapolis, October 20th, 1781

Sir,

I have the honor to congratulate your Excellency on the Surrender of Earl Cornwallis to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief of the Allied Army.

This most important and Interesting Event was this morning communicated to me by the Count de Grasse, a copy of whose Letter I beg leave to enclose for the more perfect Satisfaction of your Excellency.

With sentiments of the highest respect and Esteem, I have the honor to be

Your Excellency's Most Obedient and Humble Servant
Thos. S. Lee

⁶ This superscription appears on the cover of the following letter in which Governor Lee enclosed that of Admiral de Grasse.

DANIEL OF ST. THOMAS JENNIFER TO THOMAS SIM LEE
 (T. S. Lee Collection)

Sir:

Parker⁷ delivered your Excel^s. letter to the President of Congress about one oClock this morning informing of the Capture of Lord Cornwallis. His Excellency informed me that your attention required a politer acknowledgement than he had at present time to make & therefore was obliged to delay his Letter of acknowledgement till tomorrow.

I most sincerely congratulate Your Excellency on this most important Event much heightened by little or no loss to the American Army. With my respectful compliments to the Council.

I am

Sir Yr. Excellency's most Obed Servt

Dan of St Tho Jennifer⁸

Oct. 22d. 1781

The actual terms of capitulation carried by Colonel Tilghman were received by Congress on October 23, two days later. On receipt of the official news general rejoicing took place.

GEORGE WASHINGTON TO THOMAS SIM LEE⁹

(Washington MSS, Library of Congress)

Camp near York, October [30,] 1781.

Dear Sir,—

Inclosed I have the honor of transmitting to your Excellency the terms upon which Lord Cornwallis has surrendered the Garrisons of York and Gloucester.

We have not been able yet, to get an Acct. of Prisoners, Ordnance or Stores in the departments, but, from the best general report, there will be (officers included) upwards of seven thousand Men besides Seamen; More than 70 pieces of Brass Ordnance, and a hundred of Iron, with their Stores, as also other movable articles.

My present engagements will not allow me to add more than my congratulation on this happy event, and to express the high sense I have of the powerful Aid which I have derived from the State of Maryland, in complying with every request to the Executive of it. The Prisoners

⁷ Captain Parker of Lafayette's staff.

⁸ Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer (1723-1790), of Charles County, who served in the Continental Congress from 1778 to 1782.

⁹ Printed in Fitzpatrick, *Washington*, XXIII, 303.

will be divided between Winchester in Virginia, and Fort Frederick in Maryland.

With every sentimt. of the most perfect esteem and regard, I have the honor to be Your Excellency's most obedient servant

George Washington

EDWARD LLOYD TO THOMAS SIM LEE

(T. S. Lee Collection)

My dear Sir,

I cannot but congratulate Your Excellency upon the Happy Circumstance of the Surrendor of His Lordship.

Pray be so kind as to send me the particulars by the return of Capt Valiant,¹⁰ who will return immediately upon the delivery of his load for Wye River. The Capt. has one hundred c[or]ds of wood for you, which I hope will please.

Mrs. Lloyd joins in Compliments to Mrs. Lee and yourself.

I am, my dear Sir, with the Greatest Respect and Esteem

Your mo. Obedt. & hum^{ble} Servt.

Edw. Lloyd

Monday Oct. 22^d, 1781.

I shall have the pleasure to take you by the Hand, the next week. I send you by the Capt. a Haunch of Venison—it is not very fat, but it is the best I have killed.

JAMES MCHENRY TO THOMAS SIM LEE ¹¹

(T. S. Lee Collection)

Camp before York
23d October, 1781

My dear Sir:

The Marquiss, whom I accompanied, returned last night from a conference with Count de Grasse, and today we are preparing for the reduction of the British post at Wilmington. He is commander-in-chief on this occasion, and is to have under him the Maryland troops, the Pennsylvanians, and one Virginia regiment.

There may be a sort of naval co-operation, but I cannot say to what extent, as this will be an affair of circumstances. The troops go by water. I have to intreat the Senate, to whom your Excellency will be pleased

¹⁰ Undoubtedly the captain of Lloyd's vessel. At this time Edward Lloyd (1744-1796), of Wye, Talbot County, was a state senator.

¹¹ Printed in *A Sidelight on History*, pp. 75-76.

to commit this request, to permit me to see this operation closed. It is one which, should it be happy, may add greatly to the ease of their seats.

If the enterprise terminates in their favor, and what I fear most is their evacuating their post; if one other can be accomplished, which is not wholly impossible, and if a war does not take place in Germany, which is more than possible; I would almost venture to congratulate your Excellency on a tolerable peace, and that, too, not very distant.

With the utmost respect, I have the honor to be
Your Excellency's most obst.

James McHenry

His Excellency
Governor Lee

NATHANAEL GREENE TO THOMAS SIM LEE¹²

(Hall of Records, Annapolis)

Head Quarters high hills Santee
Octo 24h 1781

Dear Sir

Inclosed I send you a Return of the troops belonging to your State serving with this Army, and I am happy to hear of a considerable force having arrived in Virginia under General Gist, & joined Gen^l. Washington in his operations against Lord Cornwallis.¹³ Those reinforcements could they have reached us a little earlier would have been of great importance; for the want of which I have been in the greatest distress, however by patience and perseverance we have overcome all difficulties. The gallant behavior of your line in the last action, places them in the highest point of military glory.

This appears to me to be a Crisis of American affairs. If General Washington is successful against Lord Cornwallis which hardly admits of a doubt, it will afford leisure and opportunity to the United States, provided they improve it properly, of preparing themselves to meet the enemy upon more equal ground than they have contended with them for a long time past, not to say, from the beginning of the War. I hope Maryland will lose no time in compleating her line to the establishment; it will give security to herself & proper aid to her distressed neighbours, who have suffered more by the war than she has.

¹² Printed in *Archives of Maryland*, XLVII, 533-534.

¹³ Enclosure not located.

I wish you an honorable and happy administration, beloved by your friends and feared by your enemies.

With sentiments of esteem and regard

I have the honor to be Sir

Your Most Obedient
humble Serv.

Nath Greene

His Excellency
Thomas Lee Esqr

THOMAS SIM LEE TO NATHANAEL GREENE

(T. S. Lee Collection)¹⁴

Annapolis December 6, 1781

Dear Sir:

I have the honor of two letters from you of late date.¹⁵ The latter came opportunely to hand as the General Assembly of the State were on the point of meeting. I had an immediate opportunity of submitting the important subjects of them to their consideration.

The former letter I also had the pleasure of communicating to the Legislature and have not a doubt, but they will feel the force of your judicious observations in the same degree that I have done.

The confessed merit of General Greene will always give a powerful support to every proposition he may make, more especially in the Southern States, where the good effects of his wise conduct and most excellent generalship have been more especially felt.

The reinforcement from this State I must confess, was long getting to you, but the reduction of Lord Cornwallis's Army I hope will induce you to forget the hard stress and difficulties you encountered from the want of assistance; and the officers and soldiers having a share in the glory of that event, will aspire to the honour of rising to the Summit of Military fame, to which you have conducted the Southern Army.

I most sincerely wish you the reward justly due to your eminent services. I can assure you of the grateful acknowledgements of this State, and I have the honor to be

My dear General

With the highest and most perfect esteem

Your mo. ob. & mo. humble servant

Thos. S. Lee

¹⁴ Governor Lee's file copy.

¹⁵ See previous letter; the second letter has not been identified.

JAMES McHENRY TO THOMAS SIM LEE¹⁶

(T. S. Lee Collection)

Camp before York,
27 October, 1781.

My dear Sir:

The capture of Lord Cornwallis has finished our war in Virginia. The Army is folding up its tents, and I am preparing to leave it in a few days, to pay to Mrs. Lee and to you my most dear and affectionate respects.

The Marquiss perhaps will be of the party, for I fear the enterprise mentioned in the inclosure¹⁷ will not take place.

You will know why it has failed when we meet, and this may be shortly, as Forrest's last letter will not admit of my making another expedition.¹⁸

The fleet sails in two or three days. A small force will be left in the Bay.

It is likely the Count Rochambeau's headquarters will remain in this State. The troops of Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Virginia will join General Greene. These last are the out lines.

With the most sincere regard and attachment,
I have the honor to be
Your Excellency's most obst.

James McHenry

His Excellency
Gov. Lee

PEREGRINE FITZHUGH TO THOMAS SIM LEE

(T. S. Lee Collection)

Nov. 1st, 1781

Dear Sir,

I arrived home last evening, and have the honor to forward to your Excellency some letters put into my Hands at York, which place I left the evening before. I also take the liberty to send to your care a Letter to Gen^l. Smallwood from the Commander in Chief, who begs it may be forwarded with all possible dispatch, containing matters interesting.¹⁹

You no doubt have heard of the preparations which were making at New York for the relief of L^d Cornwallis however feeble it would have

¹⁶ Printed in *A Sidelight on History*, pp. 76-77.

¹⁷ Enclosure not located.

¹⁸ Uriah Forrest (1756-1805).

¹⁹ Probably the letter from Washington to Smallwood, dated Oct. 25, 1781, and printed in Fitzpatrick, *Washington*, XXIII, 263-264.

been, it is clear Sir H. Clinton intended the attempt, as he has within these two days past, made his appearance off our Capes with a Fleet of 24 Line of battle ships and about 30 of other kinds, 24 of which are said to be fire ships.

The Count de Grasse is truly anxious to go out after them, and only waits to secure the transportation of the Troops, Artillery etc., destined for the eastward up the Bay of Chesapeake, indeed he had determined should the British Fleet again make their appearance, to put to sea after them and leave a sufficient Guard for the forementioned purpose.

I presume the letters you receive with this will inform you of the different Corps, but lest they should not, I will observe—that all the Troops eastward of Pennsylvania will return to New York; those of that State and southward of it, to be sent immediately to join Gen^l Greene.

The Count Rochambeau with his Troops I believe are to be left at York & its Vicinity for the winter.

I have had a fever for several days past which induced me to take a passage up the Bay, and I had a very quiet and pleasant one—my indisposition still continues, as soon as I am perfectly recovered I shall do myself the honor to wait on your Excellency. I was favored with yours of the 19th Ult. with its inclosures—be pleased to accept my thanks for it.²⁰

I have at present only to add my respectful compliments to Mrs. Lee & an assurance that I shall ever esteem myself happy in the honor of subscribing myself

Yr Excellency's most obⁿ Sert
Perregine Fitzhugh

P. S. I have been fortunate in securing 21 Slaves of my Father's—16 are already arrived at this place and the other five Mr. A. Steward is to bring up. Mr. Wilkes with his family attempted after the capitulation to escape, but were taken up and carried on board the Fleet.

THOMAS SIM LEE TO GEORGE WASHINGTON

(Washington MSS, Library of Congress)

Annapolis November 18, 1781

Sir—

I had the Honor to receive Your Excellency's favor of the 16th yesterday afternoon.²¹ The State of Maryland is most flattered for your attention to the Subject of my last Council. Col. Tilghman received his letter,

²⁰ This letter not located.

²¹ Original letter in Hall of Records, Annapolis. See *Calendar of Maryland State Papers—The Brown Books* (Annapolis, 1948), item 543; it is printed in *Fitzpatrick, Washington*, XXIII, 345-346, and *Archives of Maryland*, XLVII, 551.

as soon as it came to my hands; he is now in town, and writes by this opportunity.²²

I am very happy to hear Your Excellency intends to take Annapolis in your Route Northward. Permit me to request, as a particular favor that you will do me the honor of making my House Headquarters, while you are pleased to remain with us.

I have the honor to be with
Sentiments of the highest personal
respect & Esteem

Your Excellency's Ob^{ed} Serv.

Thomas S. Lee

JOHN HANSON TO THOMAS SIM LEE

(T. S. Lee Collection)

Philadelphia Nov. 27th 1781

My Dear Sir

General Washington Arrived here last Evening, I have not yet had the pleasure of seeing him, every testimony of Joy and respect will, I dare say, be Shewn on the Occasion.

Our Labours, my Dear Sir, it is to be hoped are drawing to a period, provided a proper use is made of this winter. Let us not entertain the Sentiment that our late Extraordinary Successes have Superseded the necessity of any further Extraordinary Exertions, as has been too often the Case. but on the Contrary let us Strain every nerve to drive the Enemy from every part of our Country in the next Campaign; untill that is done, there can be but little hopes of peace—While they have Any Military force in the United States and can preserve a gleam of hope of Conquering or regaining America; no depredations on their Commerce, no loss of Dominions in the East or West Indies, will induce them to make peace, because with America reunited to them, they may think they could easily regain Whatever they may now loose—One more vigorous Campaign might Effect the purpose, would end all our toils, and secure to us the Blessings of peace and independence, which we have been so long, and so Virtuously Struggling for—

The British fleet, as generally believed, has left the hook, and gone to the West Indies. The report we had some time ago of their having sent a reenforcement to Charles Town, it is probable is not true, as it is pretty Certain, that their whole fleet returned from the Chesapeak, to

²² This letter not located.

the Hook and landed their Troops. Wishing you health and happiness,
I am, my Dear Governor

Your Excellencys most obed^t Serv^t
John Hanson

I wrote you by the last post.

RESOLUTION BY THE HOUSE OF DELEGATES

(T. S. Lee Collection)

November 23, 1781

Unanimously Resolved, That the Governor be requested to write to Mr. Peale of Philadelphia to procure, as soon as may be, the Portrait of His Excellency, General Washington, at full length, to be placed in the House of Delegates in grateful remembrance of that most Illustrious Character.

THOMAS SIM LEE TO CHARLES WILLSON PEALE

(Draft in T. S. Lee Collection)

December 7, 1781

My dear Sir:

The Honorable Delegates of Maryland have Unanimously resolved to have the Portrait of His Excellency General Washington, at full length, to be placed in their House, in grateful remembrance of that most Illustrious Character. And at the same time that Honorable Branch of the Legislature requested me to apply to you to have the work executed.

The Picture is desired as soon as may be, but, as I wish to have it as perfect as possible I beg you will not regard time trouble or expense in the execution. I shall be glad to know when I may expect the piece to be finished, and what you may consider as a satisfactory payment.²³

I am Sir
Your Obd^t & Hum^b Ser
Thos. S. Lee

[Superscription reads:]

Mr. Peale the Limner, requesting Gen^l Washington's Picture, with a resolution of the House of Delegates inclosed.

²³ The State ordered a portrait of General Washington, and Peale added the figures of Lafayette and Tilghman. The finished portrait delivered to Annapolis in December, 1784, still hangs in the State House. For details see Charles C. Sellers, *The Artist of the Revolution* (1939-1947), I, 235-236, and the same author's *Portraits and Miniatures by Charles Willson Peale* (1952), p. 236.

The bill for the portrait, approved by Gov. Wm. Paca and received by Peale, is among the manuscripts in the Library of the Maryland Historical Society.

THE CHEVALIER DE LA LUZERNE TO GOVERNOR LEE
 (T. S. Lee Collection)

Philadelphia June 25, 1782

Sir,

I have the honor to acquaint your Excellency, that I have received an order from the King to celebrate by a public entertainment the happy event of the birth of a Dauphin.²⁴

The day fixed upon for this entertainment is the 15th of July next, and it will be extremely flattering for me, if circumstances allow it, to be honored with the presence of your Excellency and Mrs. Lee.

As there may be several of your acquaintances, Sir, who would be glad to join in this public rejoicing, I beg leave to inclose some cards, which you will be so obliging to divide according to your own choice.

I am with great respect Sir

Your Excellency's most obedient
 and most humble servant
 Chevalier de la Luzerne

P. S. I beg leave to inclose two letters for Mrs. Lloyd from Europe, and Mrs. Platter [Plater], which I beg your Excellency to forward.

THOMAS SIM LEE TO THE CHEVALIER DE LA LUZERNE
 (Draft in T. S. Lee Collection)

Annapolis, July 3, 1782

Sir,

I have this day been honored with your Excellency's letter of the 25th of last month.

Mrs. Lee and I lament most sincerely that circumstances will not admit of our making compliments in person to your Excellency, for the honor of your invitation; and through a regard for whatever affects the interest or happiness of the King, alone could induce us a second time to manifest the joy we feel in the happy event you are about to celebrate, yet be assured, Sir, that personal considerations add greatly to the desire we have, of participating in the pleasures and amusements prepared for the occasion. The enclosure from Mrs. Lloyd will inform your Excellency I have delivered one of your letters—the one for Mrs. Plater is already forwarded.

²⁴ This Dauphin died young and was not the famous one so tragically imprisoned during the French Revolution.

The cards you were pleased to favor me with, are a very flattering Compliment, and I trust such disposition is made of them as to lay many worthy Citizens of Maryland under singular obligation for your polite attention.

Permit me to present Mrs. Lee's and my united compliments and to beg Your Excellency will do me the justice to believe that I am

Your Excellency's Mo. Obe Serv.

Thos. S. Lee

PROCLAMATION ANNOUNCING BIRTH OF DAUPHIN

(From *Maryland Journal* [Baltimore], June 18, 1782, p. 3, col. 2.)

By His Excellency THOMAS SIM LEE, Esquire,
Governor of Maryland,

A PROCLAMATION.

The Secretary of Foreign Affairs having, by the Direction of the United States in Congress assembled, announced the Birth of a DAUPHIN of FRANCE; I do, in consequence of the unanimous Request of the General Assembly, appoint *Tuesday* the twenty-fifth Instant for the celebration of the auspicious Event; and I cannot doubt that the Citizens of this State will unite in the Joy which an Occasion so nearly affecting the Happiness of our Ally, will not fail to inspire, while they experience a new Source of Satisfaction on the Birth of a Prince from whom we have every Reason to expect a Continuance of the Blessings of our Alliance—the same lively Attention to the Injured and Oppressed, and all those great and good Qualities which have excited our Admiration and Gratitude, and which so eminently distinguish his illustrious Father.²⁵

Given at Annapolis, this Thirteenth Day of June, in the Sixth Year of Our Independence, and in the Year of our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and Eighty-two.

THO. S. LEE.

By his Excellency's Command,
T. JOHNSON, jun. Secretary.
GOD save the STATE

²⁵ Accounts of the celebrations in Annapolis and Baltimore are printed in the *Journal*, July 2, p. 3, col. 1; the celebration in Philadelphia in *ibid.*, July 9, pp. 2-3.

JAMES MCHENRY TO THOMAS SIM LEE²⁶
(T. S. Lee Collection)

Philadelphia, 29th Oct^bre 1782

My dear Sir.

You are now about to leave your government, having served us the full period which our constitution admits of. I do not intend to flatter you, when I say, that you will return into the common mass of citizens with a lustre which cannot be easily extinguished. Many will regret your departure, though such is human nature, that few will shew their regrets at the table of your successor.

Your partner in dignity, Mrs. Lee, has acquitted herself so as to gain praises from everyone. Her absence we shall not scruple to lament, even in the bosom of the Republican Palace.

Take with you my best wishes to your country retirement, for I shall not be present at your leaving Annapolis; and be happy there, a blessing never yet found in any public situation. I have one request to make, and let me hope you will not think it owing to affection. It is, that you will not cease to consider me as one who has been invariably your friend, and who shall always have for you and Mrs. Lee the most cordial esteem and attachment.

Adieu, most sincerely and affectionately
James McHenry

GEORGE PLATER AND THOMAS COCKEY DEYE TO THOMAS SIM LEE
(T. S. Lee Collection)

Sir,

The faithful execution of the Trust reposed in you as First Magistrate of the State, together with your genteel and polite deportment towards all Ranks have given general satisfaction and justly claim our warmest acknowledgments.

Your close attention to the public welfare and your firm unshaken conduct in the time of greatest danger are proofs that the confidence of your Country has not been misplaced, and your strict regard to the requisitions of Congress and of the Commander-in-Chief, and the polite Treatment of the Officers of His Most Christian Majesty, has done Honour to the State.

Accept, Sir, this public Testimony of our approbation and our sincerest thanks for the Zeal, Activity, and Firmness with which you have so faithfully discharged the Duties of your Station.

²⁶ Passages relating to private business omitted from this unpublished letter.

We are with the highest esteem and respect on behalf of the General Assembly

Sir

Your most obedient

and

Most humble Servants

Geo. Plater Pres. of the Senate

Thos Cockey Deye, Speaker of H. D.

Nov. 22, 1782

THOMAS SIM LEE TO PLATER AND DEYE

(Draft in T. S. Lee Collection)

November 22^d—1782

Gentlemen:

I feel myself happy in having executed the powers intrusted to me, to the satisfaction of my Country.

That my Conduct in time of danger, and my attention to the resolves of Congress and the requisitions of the Commander-in-Chief, should receive the approbation and thanks of the Honorable body over whom you preside, excites the most pleasant ideas with the warmest emotions of gratitude.

It gives me pleasure that the treatment with which I distinguished the Officers of His most Christian Majesty, has attracted the notice of the General Assembly. If my Endeavors to support the dignity of my Station, have exceeded the strict bounds of Economy, I was influenced by a zeal for the Honor of my Country, and a desire of winning the Esteem and affection which this State entertains for its Illustrious Ally, and his Generous Subjects, and I did not fail to assure them that I could not otherwise comply with the expectations of my Countrymen.

I have the Honor to be with the most respectful attachment, Gentlemen,

Your Mo. Obedⁿ H^m Ser^{nt}

Thos S. Lee

of Maryland

To the Hon^{ble} Geo. Plater

President of the Senate

and the Hon^{able} Tho. Cockey Deye,

Speaker of the House of Delegates

This concludes the selection of letters relating to Governor Lee's first administration. His second administration, to which he was elected in 1792 following the death of Governor George Plater, continued until 1794. He declined in 1798 to serve a third term.

A VIRGINIAN AND HIS BALTIMORE DIARY: PART II

Edited by DOUGLAS GORDON

(Continued from Vol. XLIX, No. 3, September, 1954, p. 213)

THIS is the second installment of the Diary of John Montgomery Gordon (1810-1884). As in the first published portion, it has not been possible to identify or elaborate upon every person, place, or event mentioned. Identifications noted in the first installment are as a rule not repeated.

Sunday May 24th Alex^r. was left by the boat this morning and as he has not come in to breakfast, I conclude he went off in the 8 o'clock stage.¹ We employed ourselves last evening in . . . the little presents for the grandchildren . . . assorted my . . .

Went to Catholic Church.² What an addition fine music is to worship. I always feel more devout in that church than in any other. I am particularly struck with the devotion of the blacks and lower orders of whites. That habit which they have of crowding round the pulpit during the sermon is not without its good effects on those of the higher ranks who occupy "the first seats in the synagogue." When one has a miserable object before his eye as I had last Sunday (a wretched female whose eye and nose were eaten up by a cancer) it gives him a just idea of his own nature, and fills his heart and mind with gratitude and adoration for his own blessings. The sermon was execrable,—full of fire and brimstone. The preacher was one of those men of ulcerated imagination whose minds sit brooding over terror and who acknowledges God only in the earth quake and tornado, paving hell with the skull bones of infants and condemning his brother with a malignant pleasure of a fiend, to endless torments, and all for the Glory of God. Yet still there is a pleasure even in the contemplation of such awfull thoughts. Walked after dinner and read until bed time.

Monday May 25th. Rose at 7. Went to Bank at 8 o'clock and attended a general meeting of the Stockholders of Union Bank at 11. Voted for

¹ Rebecca Gordon Poultny, of Baltimore, is the owner of the portrait of John M. Gordon by George Linen (1802-1888), reproduced with the first installment.

² Probably the Cathedral, although he could have attended services at St. Peter's or St. Patrick's.

the Extension of the charter. Attended court and read during the morning. Afternoon, napped it and walked. Read Walsh's appeal to Emily till bed time, the part on slavery. The fullest and best written thing on the subject I am acquainted with. Dew (the professor) has a very excellent pamphlet on the abolition of slavery in Va.; published a year or two since.⁸

Tuesday May 26th. Rose at 6. Went to market. We have strawberries and pease now. I saw lobsters this morning for the first time. The day is fine and close. My old. . . .

Wednesday May 27. I rec'd. a letter yesterday from Bazil Gordon. He was to sail next day in the Hibernia. I had my head examined by a Phrenologist yesterday.⁴ He was wrong in almost every point of my character and appeared to be an arrant quack. I have some faith in the science. We were asked to join a party down to Annapolis this afternoon, in the new boat that has just been finished for the Carolina route.⁵ Didn't go. I have been reading Walsh's appeal to day to finish before I leave for Va. I completed copying this morning the family record of the Fitzhughs, Eliza Gordon⁶ sent me. The races are going on at the Kendal course.⁷ I have attended none of them. Emily has gone round to Mrs. Kemp's and I stop here to join her and take our usual walk. We have missed them for several evenings.

Thursday May 28th 1835. Went to Kendal races at 12 o'clock in boat with Nicholas and Davies. There were two races. Both very pretty. Johnson took the second. I should have enjoyed myself very much but that the heats were broken and we were kept on the ground until 4½ o'clock. Went in the evening to Lorman's,⁸—pleasant party, number of persons present. We had music and cream and strawberries. Got home at 10½.

Friday May 29th. Rose late this morning. Went to market after breakfast. Strawberries are becoming very abundant. Soft crabs could not be more plentifull. To day the black cook who killed Capt. ----- in the West Indies is to be hung,—poor fellow I wish it was over.⁹ Read in

⁸ A copy of the second edition of *An Essay on Slavery*, by Thomas D. Dew (Richmond, 1849), is in the Library of the Maryland Historical Society.

⁴ O. S. Fowler and K. E. Burhans advertised phrenological lectures and examinations at Trades Union Hall, Gay and Baltimore streets, in *The American* (Baltimore), May 25, 1835, p. 3, col. 3.

⁵ The *South Carolina*, Captain Rollins; see *American*, May 27, 1835, p. 1, col. 4, and May 30, p. 2, col. 1.

⁶ Eliza Fitzhugh, wife of J. M. G.'s oldest brother, Wm. Knox Gordon.

⁷ The steamboat *Relief*, Captain Weems, left the intersection of Light and Pratt streets every hour from 9:00 A. M. and took passengers to the "Kendall Race Course," presumably at Canton. Passage: 12½ cents each way. *American*, May 25, 1835, p. 3, col. 2.

⁸ Wm. Lorman's magnificent home on the east side of Charles Street, between Lexington and Fayette streets.

⁹ William Adams was hanged for the murder of Captain Tilden on May 29. See *American*, May 30, p. 2, col. 1.

the morning, attended court and walked. In the afternoon Miss Lucy Kenny called in with her pamphlet and some parson, which I had to buy to g[et rid of them]. George Biddle . . . in too. . . .

Saturday May 30. Rose at 7. Monday we shall leave for Fredg. Recd^d. a letter from Alx^r. The mere mention of the beauties of Kenmore makes me sick to be once more in its shades. The summer has come down upon us piping hot.

Thursday June 4th. I got to Kenmore on Tuesday by Smith's Line at about 12 o'clock noon. We found only a few of the family at home,—my father and mother, Susan and Agnes.¹⁰ Mary was up waiting for our arrival.¹¹ Wm., Wt. and Alx^r. were at Waverly, Sam and Bazil at home, and Eliza and Children at Santee,—all looking very well and very happy to have us back again.¹² We dine to day at Uncle B's in Falmouth.¹³ I am very sorry to find aunt Agnes in such bad spirits,—poor thing. How often do I wish I was a wealthy man only to give it away in making people happy. How ignorant the rich generally are of the exquisite pleasures money can buy! I saw yesterday T. Knox and family, Bell and wife, Agnes Suttor¹⁴ and children, Mrs. Hayes, Aunt Sarah, etc. How young married people and their concerns interest me! We had a charming ride on Monday from Baltimore to Washington in an extra with F. Voss and Mary Voss. We were to stop at Genrl. Hunter's but finding the measles there we put up at the tavern and came down next day.

Sunday June 7th. Sunday dinner in Falmouth at Uncle B.'s and walked home in the evening with Emily for the exercise. Mary and Dct.¹⁵ T. Knox, Susan and my Mother were there. The next day we took dinner with Mary. Patsy¹⁶ and Eliza were there and Sam. Wellington came [in] time for dinner . . . spent at home. . . . improved since I was last here and looks very pretty. The inhabitants seem more and more villiage like every time I see them, but yet their ways and manner have a charm for me. We had an excellent sermon from Mr. McGuire,—so simple and yet so full of thought rich with the flowers of a chaste yet glowing imagination. It was worthy of the Vicar of Wakefield. How true Goldsmith's villiage preacher is to life? My father has been quite

¹⁰ Agnes Campbell Gordon, a younger sister of J. M. G., later married Hughes Armistead, of Baltimore.

¹¹ Mary Nicholas Gordon, an elder sister of J. M. G., married to Dr. John H. Wallace, of Fredericksburg.

¹² The five brothers of J. M. G.

¹³ Bazil Gordon, youngest brother of Samuel Gordon, J. M. G.'s father, whose house still stands in the tiny settlement of Falmouth on the northern bank of the Rappahannock across from Fredericksburg.

¹⁴ The name Souter is mis-spelled in various ways throughout the Diary.

¹⁵ Dr. and Mrs. John H. Wallace.

¹⁶ Patsy Fitzhugh, wife of J. M. G.'s brother Samuel, daughter of Battaile Fitzhugh, of "Santee."

sick with his leg for several days and has suffered very intense pain. How much he has endured in the last ten years!

Friday June 12th. A blank since Sunday. I have been passing the week as usual, reading, lounging, playing with the children and enjoying the delightful shades of Kenmore. Yesterday I went to Santee with Wm., Wt. and Alx^r. and was as usual reced. in the most cordial manner, and wellcomed back in the most affectionate terms by that kind delightfull family. Mrs. Fitzhugh I admire and love the more I see of her. Next to my mother she is my favourite model of a Va: matron. Mr. Fitzhugh I am equally partial to. He has one of the biggest hearts in Va. The children too came in for their share of my affections. It gave me great joy to see Lucy's ¹⁷ children so thriving and sprightly and herself looking so well, as interesting, as touchingly beautiful in her exquisite modesty and feminine delicacy as ever. How happy thy would have been had their little boy lived. Country life in Va. is doubly charming to me this visit, and yet like every other of God's best gifts to man those who are [in the possess]ion of it do not seem to feel one half [the pleasure it affords] . . . agricolae si sua norint ¹⁸ . . . in time to att. Mrs. Woomley's party given to Emily in lieu of the one she promised her when last here as a bride. It wore heavily away not without several hard showers, which made the walking bad,—however we got comfortably home through the politeness of Mr. Tenant, who let us have the use of his carriage. I read Emily's journal to day, as far as she has it written up. I am much pleased with it. She writes with great interest and besides producing a most valuable record of her own feelings, thoughts and opinions, will find the exercise of the most improving kind. I had a conversation today with Wm. about his plans of life, etc. I think he feels fully the necessity of doing something for the advancement of his children. I suggested to him the importance of keeping his eye on the presidency of one of the Banks and was happy to find that the idea was not new to him.

Friday June 27th. I have neglected my journal sadly for the space of two weeks. We came down to Santee last Saturday where we have been staying till now. The week before I spent in Fredg. much as usual. We had intended coming down with Wm. and Eliza about the 12th, but were prevented by the mumps being at Santee. In the early part of last week we took several rides in the neighbourhood returning visits. Messrs. Hamilton, Coalter, Bernard and Uncle B.'s. Wm. went home on Saturday and we had a general breaking up at Kenmore on that day. Alx^r. came down with Susan and my mother on Monday to take leave of us before going to N. Haven, Ct., where he intends remaining about two years to complete his law studies. On Tuesday Wt., Sam and I rode on horse-

¹⁷ Lucy Penn Taylor, wife of J. M. G.'s brother, Bazil, of Prospect Hill, Caroline Co., Va., and the daughter of John Taylor of Caroline.

¹⁸ A garbled quotation from Virgil's Georgics, II, 458-459: "O fortunatos nimium sua bona norint, agricolas!"

back down . . . to visit Albion on the Potomack . . . which is to be sold on the 2nd. We . . . [the] boat and I had the pleasure for the first time of riding through those two fine estates of Corbin on both sides of the river. We left here at 8 and arrived at Bedford after a hot, and dusty ride, about two o'clock, passing on our way that venerable relic of ante revolutionary times Lambs creek church, 4 or 5 miles from the river, and Chotank Church near Bedford, both in good repair and larger than Potomack church. Chotank Church was the church of my maternal ancestor Dr. Steuart,¹⁹ grandfather of Rich. Steuart, Jr., who married Miss Calvert. A part of it was fitted up some time since for the accommodation of the minister Dr. Goldsmith and is now occupied by a run a way couple for the want of a better house. The lady is a daughter of Bushrod Washington of the valley, the gentleman a Mr. Alxeander.²⁰ We found only Mrs. Fitzhugh at Bedford, her husband being below in Westmoreland and her mother and Brother in law in Culpeper.²¹ We were very politely rece'd. and wellcomed with a nice little dinner. The house stands $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile from the Potomack, of which it has a commanding view for many miles above. The Old Building (a very large one) was pulled down by the last proprietor (Mr. Henry Fitzhugh) and the present, a much smaller one erected in its stead. It is of wood, and in the old fashioned style of a center building and two wings. What afforded me the greatest gratification was the old family pictures, seven in number, 5 males and two females, $\frac{3}{4}$ as large as life, some $\frac{1}{2}$, painted by Hesselius of Annapolis. The first is a copy by him some hundred years ago of a portrait of the father of the first settler (who was never in this country) taken in the year 1635 or thereabouts. He is eighteen years of age with his own hair and dressed very plainly in the style of that age. If his hair were short, the costume would be puritan. His face is intelligent and he has the appearance of a well born gentleman, small in size. His son²² . . . best face of the. . . . That is, his face may be taken as a family likeness. He is dressed in a large black curly wig, a rich silk neck cloth tied in a loose knot, and some rich material in the costume of his time. He is quite a large man, a high, broad and projecting forehead, a considerable breadth between the eyes, and a mouth indicative of a good deal of decision and energy of character. He has the complexion and crook in the end of the nose common to all the Bedford family. The next in order is his second son Henry, my ancestor and the ancestor of the Bedford family.²³ He is

¹⁹ Dr. Charles Steuart, of Annapolis, married Elizabeth, second daughter of Benedict Calvert, of Mount Airy, on June 15, 1780.

Dr. Richard Steuart lived on Saratoga St. near St. Paul's Church, according to Machett's *Baltimore Director* for 1835.

²⁰ Bushrod Washington (1762-1829), nephew of General Washington, had no children, thus J. M. G. must refer to another man of the same name.

²¹ "Bedford," the ancestral seat of the Fitzhugh family, is located on the Potomac River, near Chotank Creek, in Stafford Co., Va.

²² Col. Wm. Fitzhugh (1651-1701), who came from England to Virginia about 1670.

²³ Col. Henry Fitzhugh (1687-1758).

painted as if old and blind, with an exuberant grey wig tied up in front at the end of some plaited locks like curls. He is middle sized and feeble, and is the original of or very near the original of a picture that used to hang at Bell Air.²⁴ The other males are Mr. Battaile Fitzhugh's father, Mr. Henry Fitzhugh,²⁵ and another one, perhaps his brother or nephew. Of the two females one is Miss Stith of Gloucester (then Mrs. F.) aged 18 and a most voluptuous looking woman, fine round figure, a lovely bosom partly covered by a rich brocade heightening the charms which it half conceals.²⁶ She has black hair and eyes and a dark skin, which it is said she gets from her Pochahontas blood. I am not related to her. She is dressed in a rich brocade with silk lace. The other female is Mr. Battaile F.'s mother. She is not very striking, has the colouring of Harriot Fitzhugh (Bolling Fitzhugh's daughter) and was a Miss Battaile. I was very much gratified to tread at last a spot consecrated in my earliest recollections as the seat of my maternal ancestors for several generations. Fitzhughsburg is near and stands between Bedford and the river. It is in a state, apparently, of dilapidation. Jack Dade [the] Gentlemen we we[nt] . . . rode up before me . . . to his own . . . Bedford house on the way (not one vestage of which remains but a few old fruit trees) and took us to the grave yard. We reached his farm, 3 miles off, in time to take a full survey of it and spent the night with him. We found on our arrival at house Dr. Fitzhugh,²⁷ Needham Washington and his J. D.'s son in law Smith who lives with him. The House stands magnificently on the Bank of the Potomack, at that point very high, and being at the edge of a peninsula affords a grand view of that noble river for many miles both above and below. The Building is old and badly planned but is commodious and might be made very comfortable. I hope Wt. will buy it, if he can get it at a fair price. It is healthy, small, can be always disposed of at a small sacrifice, if any, and would be *a very agreeable place to me to visit* in the spring or fall. The river affords an abundant supply of the finest fish of which we had evidence in the article of delicious crabs which Mr. Dade supplied us with at supper. We had determined, on going to bed, to ride the next morning and breakfast with my old friend Richd. Steuart of Cedar Grove, both for the purpose of paying him a passing visit and getting a meal for our horses, which we shrewdly suspected had fared worse than their riders. At Bedford as well as Albion, Dr. Fitzhugh, however, insisted on our going home with him and promised to give the poor jaded animals a field which alone was inducement enough to accept. We left his house at 8 and arrived at Santee at 2. W. and Sam were too much worsted to go down

²⁴ "Belle Air," Stafford Co.

²⁵ Henry Fitzhugh (1723-1783), who married Sarah Battaile, Oct. 23, 1746. Their son Battaile Fitzhugh married a daughter of Samuel Gordon, of Kenmore.

²⁶ Elizabeth (1754-1815), daughter of Col. Drury Stith, who married Henry Fitzhugh (1748-1815).

²⁷ Probably Dr. Francis C. Fitzhugh (1801-1858).

to dinner to Bazil's. I went however and met Mr. and Mrs. Taylor who asked us to dine with them the next day which we did. Friday we had intended to spend with Bazil, but Emily awaked with a severe headache and . . . Saturday. . . .

Sunday Wm. came down. He returned to day (Tuesday).

Yesterday Monday June 29 we had Chapman christened by Mr. McGuire. Sam, Bazil, Wm., Lucy, Patsy, Dr. W. and Mary and John Gordon²⁸ were present and dined with us. We had a most charming day. We dine at Dr. W.'s to day and shall go up to Wm.'s tomorrow if we can make our arrangements. I return in the hack the next day and proceed on to Balt. to be present at the Union B. election. I shipped this morning by steam boat the Brass Bedstead which my father bought of Mr. McCrae and made us a present of.

Baltimore Sunday July 6th. 1835. At home again a bachelor, my beard off, cleanly attired and writing up my journal. Thursday I took Emily and Chap. up to my Brother Wm.'s in Jones' hack. We had a very pleasant ride and a charming lunch at that beautifull grove near the stone church some 14 miles above Falmouth. We found Wm.'s place looking most sweetly. It is now one of the nicest country residences I know. Mrs. Selden and Anna Knox were staying with them. I left the next morning about 8 for Fredg. My ride was dull and fatigueing, for "I dragged a lengthning chain." When I got to Falmouth I found one half of it in ashes, from the Tavern near the Big Tree to Uncle B.'s bandbox counting room and warehouses of tinder. With his usual good fortune he had escaped with a trifling loss. I was very highly diverted with the important concern of the villiagers at the event, but at the same time heartily sorry for the shock it must give their associations to see one half their village burnt down. I got home to dinner, breakfasted . . . in the stage . . . passengers of the usual character. I sat on the seat with a Yankee clock pedlar and had some amusing talk with him about his peregrinations. He had laid out all his year's profit in a poor tract of land in the gold region near Hartford (*sic*) meeting house, part of Morson's farm, and expects to make a fortune. We got to the landing an hour before the boat arrived and I availed my self of the time to try how the fishes bit. A fisherman who was near shore took me out in his canoe. I had tolerable luck but was more taken up with the boatman than my line. He was one of your quiet, mild, pensive characters who chew the cud of contentment and love to be alone with nature out of the reach of the discord of the human voice I have always been devoted to the sport and have spent many a happy day with my college friends in our beautifull boat, on that lovely lake near N. Haven, which "lies

²⁸ Son of Samuel Gordon of Lochdougan in Kirkcudbrightshire, and first cousin of J. M. G., who came to Virginia a second time, having sold Lochdougan of which he was the last "Laird."

sheltered in the lap of living hills." It was there I first read Walton and Cotton and alternately watched my line.²⁹ Your gentleman fisherman is a man after my own heart. Christ selected his disciples from this class and made them fishers of men About 10 we got into the Boat. I found my old acquaintance Jennet Thurston on board, who had come down the river to spend the Fourth of July. Taliaferro and wife from King George were likewise on board, also Dr. Parish from Pha. whom I did not know personally. He had been down to Richmond as a witness to John Randolph's nuncupative will. The day was agreeable and a good air stirring. We passed Mount Vernon while at dinner. I regretted it. I always look on that spot with feelings akin to those Mount Calvary . . . in my. . . . For [at that] spot died the f[irst] . . . a man. "Jesus Christ like a God."

We reached the city about 3 o'clock and were off again in the stage by half past. 6 passengers inside, a North Carolina Colonel, two young travellers from Pha; and a married Lady. As we passed the Capitol I caught a glimpse of the statues of peace and war. Our ride for the first three hours was hot and insufferably dusty, from six to nine it was more pleasant. We got rid of the dust and heat and had some agreeable talk. Occasionally we were regaled with the perfume of the magnolia, of which there are great quantities on some parts of the road, and the air as it came freshening through the groves, was balmy and refreshing. What would I give to have near me always the luxury of a fine grove of various trees such as our forests everywhere afford. We found the buildings at Waterloo burnt down and the road strewed with the prostrate or staggering bodies of drunken Irishmen. I got home at 10 and found Serena on the steps looking out for me. The house was in the most satisfactory order, most exquisitely clean and nice. Nothing but Emily and Chap. was wanting to make me exclaim "there is no place like home." But, alas, the words stuck in my throat. I read until 12 and even then could not go to sleep for some time. I had bad dreams and was awoke about 2 by an alarm of fire. Rose at 8, breakfasted and walked down to Barnum's [City Hotel]. Met my old college friend Tom Spence.³⁰ Was delighted to see him. He told had never had any idea of turning priest. I was very much shocked this morning to hear that Judge Magruder's son had been killed accidentally by. . . . Affliction has laid a heavy hand upon him.³¹ C[hief]. J[ustice]. [John] Marshall, I hear this morning is no better. His disease is considered incurable. Having written my journal up I will now go out to see some acquaintances before going to church. I left my umbrella in the stage last night. I never did such a careless thing before. I called on Kemp before church and took a seat with him. Mrs.

²⁹ Izaak Walton and the less well known Charles Cotton (1630-1687), English poet and translator of Montaigne, among whose works is the *Compleat Gamester* (1674).

³⁰ Thomas Adams Spence, A. B., Yale, 1829, of Snow Hill.

³¹ Thomas William Magruder (1814-1835), son of Judge R. B. Magruder; *American*, July 7, p. 2, cols. 1 and 5.

K. has another daughter. I told him by way of consolation that "it would become the mother of a race of men." He told me the particulars of young Magruder's accident. Meredith³² and himself, it seems were on a revenue cutter lying in the port. Me[redith] took up a musket and observed pointing it to him that it would make a good disk or something of the kind and at the same time, involuntarily pulled the trigger, the contents passing through his head. The accident happened last night about 6. He is to be buried to day. I dine with B. F. V{oss]. at 2.

Monday morning July 6th. Rose at 5½ o'clock, shaved myself and went to market. At 8 went to Bank. The day is hot and close. While I think of it, remember to answer Kemp's letter. I find Lee settled here in one of Campbell's offices. Our Bank election comes on today. I occupied myself one hour this morning fixing my Books.

The Union Bank election came on to day. I was re-elected. R. Voss dined with me to day. He is perfectly happy at the prospect of starting for Va. tomorrow on a visit to his wife. How little he knows of men and especially of women! I have met with few young men that do. I commenced reading Audubon's³³ ornithology to day. It is charming, so pictorial, so enthusiastick, so deeply imbued with a warm and deep rooted love of nature. How I should have enjoyed a ramble with him for a year or two. I have been reading likewise selected articles in Littell's Museum.³⁴ The last is the best . . . particularly [the part] on Shakespeare in Germany, being a criticism on Romeo and Juliet, "that magnificent hymn to love," in which it may be said to be set to music. My astonishment at his genius will never cease increasing. I was not able to read much Law this morning, having been bored for several hours by that ----- dull fellow Morris of Pha. Steel joined me in my afternoon walk. He is intelligent but not congenial. It is the rarest thing in the world for me to meet any one that is. All men seem to me unnatural or unrefined. My dear little wife, God Bless her, is perfectly congenial. My health is much improved by my trip to Va., and as I have given up a meal in the evening for the present, it will continue to do so no doubt. I had a large supply of currant jelly made to day which I forgot to mention in my letter to Emily to day. It will be an agreeable surprise to her when she comes home.

Tuesday July 7th. Rose at 6 o'clock. At 8 attended at Bank with the new Board. I went to the instrument maker's this morning and looked at his telescopes wishing to buy one for my Brother Bazil. Attended

³² William Meredith.

³³ John M. Gordon is not listed as a subscriber, but Basil Gordon and Robert S. Voss are; Robinson C. Watters, "Audubon and His Baltimore Patrons," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXXIV (June, 1939), 139-143.

³⁴ *Littell's Museum of Foreign Literature* for July, 1835, carried a full length likeness of Wm. Godwin, the author of "Caleb Williams and St. Leon"; *American*, July 7, p. 2, col. 1.

court for an hour and read Cruise on the subject of Fines.^{84a} Because sleepy over it and wrote a few lines in Journal. I slept badly last night, having imprudently drank a glass or two of claret sangaree at the Bank. The weather is still hot, 84 in chamber. Apropos I must make a book to keep observations of the weather.

Chief Justice Marshall is no more! How are the mighty fallen.

"Quis desiderio sit pudor aut modus
Tam cari Capitis . . . Cui pudor, et Justicia soror
Incorrupta Fides, nudaque veritas
Quando ullum inveniet parem?"⁸⁵

Shall the ermine of purity descend upon corruption? Protect the fountains of Justice from pollution.

The day has been most hot and depressing. I slept away most of the afternoon unintentionally. About 7 took a walk and joined Steel. Retired at 11 o'clock.

Wednesday July 8th. Last night was most uncomfortable for sleep. Rose at 6, shaved and went to market. Sat an hour in court comparing, with several gentlemen, the characters of Washington and Marshall. All gave the preference to the former. He certainly stands alone and at the head of a new era in the world. Whilst his name will shine brighter throughout the world as it descends to posterity, that of Marshall will emit its lustre only for the eye of the American Lawyer. But it is "clarum et venerabile nomen."

I find the weather unsuits me for mental effort and indeed I begin to be afraid that I shall never be able to study again as I did at college when my constitution was in the full and vigorous energies of jusvenescence. When I read of the labours of such a student as the German philologist Wolff, my heart sinks in despair.⁸⁶ Pitt held the helm of the British empire in its stormiest period at the age of 24, and I am hardly yet a petty fogging lawyer. Would that the world were fuller of action. But I bide my time. The day will yet arrive when I shall give full sway to voice, action and passion.

I am becoming anxious to hear from Emily and already sick to be with her in the country again.

Thursday July 9th. Rose at 6 and went to market to get some nice thing for Lloyd⁸⁷ and Norris who are to dine with me to day. We shall have chicken broth, leg lamb and veal coutlette. Reced, a sweet

^{84a} Probably Wm. Cruise, *An Essay on the Nature and Operation of Fines* (London, 1783).

⁸⁵ Two juxtaposed quotations from Horace, Odes, I, 24.

⁸⁶ Friedrich August Wolf (1759-1824).

⁸⁷ Grafton Lloyd Dulany (1797-1863), prominent lawyer who often represented the Union Bank.

letter from Emily, which, as usual, I read over two or three times. Poor thing, she is so home sick! Bought 1/2 doz. Westphalia Hams. Attended meeting of . . . 10 to pass resolutions on death of C. J. Marshall. Hoffman was the mover and prefaced them with some very pertinent remarks.³⁸ Have been reading *Cruise on Fines* this morning, but find him very dull this hot weather. I must get some of the new novels. I read *Julius Caesar* last evening. With what fidelity Shakespeare has preserved in that play the "Spirit of Antiquity." How beautifully drawn are the female characters of Portia and Calphurnia, the wives of Caesar and Brutus, although they are unfemine in all the heroic qualities of Roman matrons. Brutus is the Hero and the only noble republican amongst the conspirators. I am very much struck with the character of Cicero as it is drawn in two lines—"and Cicero looks with such ferret and such fiery eyes as we have seen him in the Capitol being crossed in conference by some senators." And again when Casca is asked what Cicero did when the crown was thrice offered Caesar, he replies, "he spoke Greek." Brutus says of him, "he will never follow any thing that other men begin." The play ought to have ended with the assassination. I remark throughout this play the wonderfull finish of the numerous Characters all true to the Roman spirit.

I have begun *Caleb Williams* to day and am delighted with the style of Godwin, this being the first of his works I have ever read.³⁹

³⁸ David Hoffman (1784-1854), at this time professor of law, University of Maryland, and leader of the Baltimore Bar.

³⁹ See note 34.

THE GREAT MARYLAND BARRENS: II

By WILLIAM B. MARYE

(Continued from Vol. 50, No. 1, March, 1955, p. 23)

THE present installment discusses the origin of the Barrens after defining their limits at some length. In the interests of accuracy and completeness of a subject that in all probability will not be dealt with again, these details are included. A final installment of larger general interest will appear in September.—*Ed.*

THE LIMITS OF THE BARRENS: THEIR MARCH FROM EAST TO WEST⁴⁰

According to eminent Pennsylvania authorities, the Barrens extended along the west bank of Susquehanna River, in York County, from the mouth of Fishing Creek, opposite Turkey Hill, or thereabouts, to the Mason and Dixon Line, a distance of nearly 21 miles, and backwards into the interior of the country, to include the valleys of Fishing Creek and Muddy Creek.⁴¹ The whole of the townships of Chanceford, Lower Chanceford, Peach Bottom,⁴² the southern part of Windsor, and all of Fawn and Hopewell Townships were included in the Barrens. But the Barrens did not extend much, if at all, to the westwards of the head stream of Deer Creek,⁴³ which forms the boundary between Hopewell and Shrewsbury Townships.

⁴⁰ In certain cases where definite limits are mentioned elucidation of the record was not possible even after considerable research. Here is a case taken from the minutes of the Baltimore Co. Court Proceedings, Aug. Term, 1768: "John Riston is appointed overseer or the roads from his house to the main falls [of Patapsco] at Nathan's mill [not identified] & also to the entrance to the Barrence [sic]."

⁴¹ I. D. Rupp, *History of Lancaster and York Counties* (1845), pp. 566, 567; John Gibson, *History of York County* (1886), pp. 17, 18; Glossbrenner's *History of York County* (1834), quoted by Gibson.

⁴² Gibson, *loc. cit.*, quotes Glossbrenner: "The townships comprised in the Barrens are Chanceford, Fawn, Peach Bottom, Hopewell and part of Windsor." Rupp, *loc. cit.*, says that the York Barrens comprised the townships of Chanceford, Lower Chanceford, Fawn, Hopewell and the lower part of Windsor. He does not mention Peach Bottom, erected 1817 out of Fawn Township. Gibson (p. 761) advances the theory that the so-called barrens of Peach Bottom Township were actually the old fields of the early settlers, an idea wholly at variance with the facts, since there is no reason to suppose that the barrens in this township were of a different origin.

⁴³ Deer Creek crosses the state line into Baltimore Co. a little over two miles west of the Harford Co. line, and enters Harford Co. a little more than 1½ miles below the state line.

The Pennsylvania or York Barrens contained about 130,000 acres. According to Rupp, this enormous extent of land was not called (ca. 1737-1735) "the barrens" simply on account of the poverty of the soil, but because its early settlers found "no timber" upon it.⁴⁴ In this important respect Rupp agrees with the statements of Lloyd and Carroll, of which he (most probably) had no knowledge.

The Barrens crossed the Line⁴⁵ into Maryland on a front 20 miles wide, or not much less, if Pennsylvania authorities are correct. South of the line, they seem to have followed the Susquehanna River⁴⁶ to the mouth of Broad Creek, 1½ miles below the Line, near which place they began to veer away from the river, first to the southwards, and then to the southwest, reaching Deer Creek near Sandy Hook, some nine miles above the mouth of that stream. The Deer Creek valley below this point, and the valley of Peddler's Run, lay outside the Barrens. The valley of Broad Creek lay wholly within them. For these limits, as we shall presently see, there is sound authority, which is fortunate, since the Barrens are seldom mentioned as *obiter dicta* in contemporary wills, or called for in early certificates of survey.⁴⁷ In the absence of this sort of evidence a place-name may testify to the presence of barrens in the neighborhood, while the name bestowed upon an early survey may sometimes be eloquent of the barren and desolate aspect of that part of a county where it was laid out. Names such as The Hungry Hills (Broad Creek) and The Hills of Poverty (Falling Branch, Deer Creek)⁴⁸ are highly descriptive, and evoke the appearance and even the mood of the barren lands.

⁴⁴ Rupp, *op. cit.*, pp. 566, 567.

⁴⁵ The Mason and Dixon Line is a little less than one quarter mile north of the temporary line, run in 1739.

⁴⁶ It is this author's opinion that the rich, but generally narrow, bottoms along western side of the river, through which the Susquehanna Canal was cut, were heavily timbered, in contrast to the adjacent barrens.

⁴⁷ Skipwith Coale of Baltimore Co. in will dated Aug. 1, 1755, left to his son, Samuel, "my tract of land lying in the Barrens, being what I purchased of Pilgrim and Simpson." (Hall of Records, Will Book, XXXIX, f. 513.) The index of the Baltimore Co. Land Records shows no land sold by Simpson to Coale; however, Amos Pilgrim made over "Pilgrim's Rest" to Skipwith Coale, in 1743. (Baltimore Co. Land Records, Liber T. B. No. C., f. 423). See also Land Office, Unpatented Certificate No. 1254, Baltimore Co. This tract was located apparently on Cooper's Rock Run which flows into the Susquehanna just above the Pennsylvania border.

In his will, September 4, 1750, Wm. Jenkins, of Baltimore Co., left 100 acres "in the Barrens joining Richard Deavers" to his son, Francis Jenkins. (Hall of Records, Will Book XXXI, f. 316). This land not identified. It is not unlikely that it lay on Little Deer Creek, but it may have been on Broad Creek. That it is now situated in Harford Co. is scarcely open to doubt.

⁴⁸ A tract of leased land surveyed for John Crommey, July 29, 1749, was situated in Baltimore Co. on the north side of Broad Creek, "beginning at a bounded black oak standing on the Hungry Hills." (Land Office of Maryland, Unpatented Certificate No. 378, Baltimore Co.).

"The Hills of Poverty," containing 2380 acres, was laid out for Abraham Jarrett, February 15, 1771. ("Survey Book of Baltimore Co. in the Province of Maryland, 1771," f. 12, Peabody Library, Baltimore, attributed to James Calder.) This very

On June 15, 1721, there was surveyed for Dr. Charles Carroll, of Annapolis, a tract of land called "Arabia Petrea," containing 4735 acres.⁴⁹ More than one half of this survey was vacant land; the rest consisted of all of two patented tracts that was not taken away by elder surveys. In his petition to the Land Office for a special warrant to resurvey these patented tracts of land Dr. Carroll, after recalling their situation, namely, upon the north side of Deer Creek near Susquehanna River, requests "liberty to exclude the land so taken away and to add what vacant lands should be found to them contiguous and *lying between Deer Creek and Susquehanna River aforesaid and the Barrens.*"⁵⁰ This record serves to indicate the great extent of the Barrens in those parts.

Dr. Carroll sold "Arabia Petrea," in 1733, to Isaac Webster and Jacob Giles,⁵¹ for whom it was resurveyed, February 20, 1734.⁵² The original name was retained. The resurvey contained 5340 acres. Harford County antiquaries and historians all know of "Arabia Petrea." The northeastern bounds of "Arabia Petrea" come within 1-1/4 miles of the Susquehanna River. The southeastern bounds of this land follow Deer Creek for some little distance. It is said that "Arabia Petrea" begins at the fork of the road leading from Darlington to Berkeley. The uppermost limit of the original survey on Deer Creek is at a distance of about 8 miles from the mouth of that stream. The resurvey carries it no more than 40 perches upstream, to a point about a mile and a half above the mouth of Thomas's Run.

The N. W. by W. 228 perches line of the original survey of "Arabia Petrea" calls for an intersection "*with the Barrens,*" whence the survey runs S. 139 degrees W. 160 perches (half a mile) "*joining with the barrens.*" When the resurvey was made, it was discovered that the N. W.

considerable tract of land was never patented, and no survey has been found recorded at the Land Office. However, Mr. Waring found a description of the survey in Chancery Papers No. 5586, from which he has kindly made me a plat. The survey calls for Indian Wills Cabin Branch, an affluent of a branch of Deer Creek which is not named, but which the late Dr. George Archer, the conscientious antiquary of Harford County, has identified with Falling Branch. (Archer Papers, Harford County Historical Society.) "Hills of Poverty" lay in what is now the Fourth District of Harford Co., but was formerly Deer Creek Upper Hundred, on both sides of Falling Branch and of Great Branch, but mostly between them, having a length from east to west of 3 3/4 miles, and an extreme width of about 1 3/4 miles. It is my opinion that its upper limits are no more than 1/8 mile below the state line, with which they run nearly parallel. The situation is of interest as the name seems intended to describe the primitive aspect of the land included in the survey, and its environs.

⁴⁹ Patented Certificate No. 374, Baltimore Co.

⁵⁰ Land Office, Patent Records for Land, Liber P. L. No. 5, f. 318.

⁵¹ Letter, Waring to Marye, Jan. 22, 1952.

⁵² Patented Certificate No. 376, Baltimore Co. While Webster and Giles, who were interested in iron works, may have considered mining operations in purchasing "Arabia Petrea," they eventually sold off the land in lots to people mostly of the yeoman class. A copy of an old plat of "Arabia Petrea" divided into "lots" or farms is in the possession of this author.

by W. line fell short of the Barrens by 50 perches, and, by request, the surveyor added this amount thereto, "in order to include the good land," and ended his line "in the Barrens." Here there seems to be evidence of a more or less sharp division between good land and barren land. The next line of the resurvey partly "joins" the Barrens, after which the Barrens fall away to the southwest.

The place where "Arabia Petrea" intersects the Barrens lies about a mile and a half southwest of Susquehanna River, a mile and a quarter west of Castleton, and about 2 miles northeast of Dublin, on the ridge between Peddler's Run and Broad Creek. From this place, or thereabouts, the edge of the Barrens ran in a southwesterly direction to Deer Creek, leaving out, to the southeast, the whole of "Arabia Petrea." Dublin lies outside, but very near, the edge of the Barrens.

Some notice must here be taken of Lloyd's mention in his 1722 letter of frontier settlements on the western side of the Susquehanna River. Evidently, these settlements lay between the Barrens and the river. Where were they?

Virtually all the land bordering upon the west side of the Susquehanna, between the mouth of Deer Creek, and Glen Cove, at the mouth of Peddler Run, was taken up before the end of the 17th century, mostly in large tracts, and already by 1722 settlements had undoubtedly been made thereon.⁵³ The northern-most of these tracts of land was "Phillips Purchase." North of "Phillips Purchase," and bounding thereon was "Paradise," surveyed, 1683, for Thomas Lytefoot. "Paradise" does not bound upon the river. Between it and the river lies "Maiden's Mount," surveyed in 1719 and resurveyed in 1721 for Robert West, containing 400 acres. This land lies between the mouths of Broad Creek and Peddler's Run, coming within half a mile of the former and 1-1/4 miles of the latter, and extending inland half a mile. The reason for going into these details will be seen presently. West unquestionably settled on this land before 1722. His place was called the Bald Friar, and it was here, let it be said in passing, that the lowest ford on the Susquehanna was situated.⁵⁴

We find evidence of only one settlement above "Maiden's Mount" at the time Lloyd's letter was written. This was John Cooper's. He acquired a small tract surveyed for Elijah Perkins in 1719, to which he added

⁵³ The northeastern boundary of "Phillips' Purchase" (2000 acres, surveyed for James Phillips, 1683) is situated at Glen Cove. (Samuel Mason, *Historic Sketches of Harford County*, p. 47.) In 1763, a land commission was held on behalf of Nathaniel Rigbie, to prove the bounds of "Phillips Purchase." One of the deponents then present proved a bounded tree on a point on Rock Run, otherwise called Rigbie's Saw Mill Run, and now called Peddler's Run. (Baltimore Co. Land Records, Liber B. no. M., f. 151 &c.) Only the bounded tree at the northeastern corner of "Phillips Purchase" could have stood at Glen Cove, on Peddler's Run. This information was used as a point of departure in working out the situation of "Maiden's Mount," "Paradise," and the northern bounds of "Arabia Petrea."

⁵⁴ Marye, "Place-Names of Baltimore and Harford Counties," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XV (1920), p. 327ff.

"Cooper's Range," surveyed May 10, 1720, and "Deserts of Arabia," surveyed July 20, 1721, in all, 620 acres, in one tract, bounded by the river, and situated astraddle of the present state line, on both sides of Cooper's Rock Run.⁵⁵

These, then, were the frontier plantations on the Susquehanna—Cooper's, West's, and whatever settlement may have been made on "Paradise"—which, together with the rest of the "Present Inhabited parts" (to quote again from Lloyd's letter), were "cut off" by the Barrens from the temptingly rich lands situated to the North and to the West; "tht Vast Body of Rich Lands tht Lyes something more to the Westward."

Lloyd mentions the measures then being taken "about Lycencing our People to make remote Settlem'ts," and adds: ". . . this eastermost side of Monockesey, is the first place tht will Naturally be planted [it was then still a wilderness, but on the eve of being settled] and thence up along the Line of 50, if we can but secure our people there, & that by the help of an Instrum't we Can fnd where or near About tht Line Lyeth."

Such was the background against which Lord Baltimore's vast "reserves" on Susquehanna River were laid out. On September 25, 1722, Lloyd, then Deputy Secretary of Maryland, acting in accordance with instructions "lately received" from Lord Baltimore, issued an order to the Surveyor General of the Western Shore,⁵⁶ requiring him to notify his deputies concerning the setting up of a number of "reserves," including two on the eastern side and three on the western side of the Susquehanna, up to the 40th degree, north latitude,⁵⁷ which was claimed by the Calverts as the lawful northern boundary of their Province. It is hard not to see in the setting up of these 5 "reserves" a move on the part of Lord Baltimore in the direction of consolidating the then unsettled parts of his province, so that he might the better maintain his rights. The Penns were even then engaged in taking up vast manors on the Susquehanna the southern-most of which impinged upon, and came into direct conflict with, these "reserves."⁵⁸ When the Temporary Line was run, in 1739,

⁵⁵ Rent-Roll of Baltimore Co., Calvert Papers No. 883, pp. 266, 280, 283. In will of John Cooper, dated Oct. 1, 1759, all these lands are mentioned and their situation given. (Baltimore Co. Wills, Liber 2, f. 296.) On Griffith's Map of Maryland, 1794, a saw-mill called "Cooper's" is shown adjacent to the west side of Susquehannah River in York Co., a little north of the state line. An Atlas of York Co., Pomeroy, Whitman & Co., 1876,—Peachbottom Township, p. 58, shows the residence of several Coopers near the river, above and below [Cooper's] Rock Run. Gibson (*op. cit.*, p. 765) gives an account of the family.

⁵⁶ Lloyd's order to survey these reserves is recorded upon "an old parchment" filed in Division 4, No. 22, Land Office. (Letter, Waring to Marye, Sept. 8, 1953.) No plats of the reserves are known to exist.

⁵⁷ It is the first of these reserves mentioned in this manuscript in which we are interested. Its northern boundary was Muddy Creek (now in York Co.) and a line drawn west from the head of that creek.

⁵⁸ As, for example, the great manor of Springetsbury, 70,000 acres, surveyed June 19 and 20, 1722, on the W. side of the Susquehanna, in York Co. A part of this manor was taken away according to an agreement between Penn and Baltimore, to satisfy claims of Maryland settlers, and the manor was resurveyed, July 12, 1768, and found to contain 64,520 acres. Gibson, *op. cit.*, p. 921.

the greater part of Lord Baltimore's "reserves" fell to the north of that line, and was found to lie either in Lancaster or York Counties. Lord Baltimore's motives were not entirely political, however. He was thinking of profit. Thirty-four years later Governor Sharpe, writing about the difference between a reserve and a proprietary manor, makes the statement that one of three motives governed the choice of a body of land for the laying out of a reserve: exceptional richness of soil; mineral deposits, especially copper; nearness to towns.⁵⁹ There is no doubt that the first of these was the guiding motive in the choice, in 1722, of the Sugar Lands on the Potomac as the site of a reserve of 10,000 acres. But what of the Barrens? It is not unlikely that in 1722 many of the leading men of Maryland entertained great hope of the discovery of mineral deposits and the opening of mines in that region. Among them was probably Lloyd himself.

Of the 3 "reserves" which were set up upon the western side of the Susquehanna Lord Baltimore gave up his right to 2, and retained title to a part of 1 only. The bounds and limits of this reserve, as defined in Lloyd's order to the Surveyor General of the Western Shore, were as follows:

"Beginning at the Mouth of a small Run or Branch called Boddy Run or Golden Branch⁶⁰ falling into Deer Creek some distance East Southerly from a Tract of Land laid out for Colo. William Holland called Miners Adventure and extending from the mouth of the said Creek [sic] S. S. W. ten Miles bounded on the South by a Line drawn W. from the End of the S. S. W. Line for twenty Miles and on the W. by a Line drawn N. from the End of the W. Line until it intersects the Head of Muddy Creek, but in Case Muddy Creek should not extend so far W. then until the N. Line aforesaid shall intersect a Line drawn W. from the Head of Muddy Creek then E. with the said Line and Muddy Creek unto the Mouth thereof where it falls into the Susquehanna then down the Susque-

⁵⁹ This information in a letter of Governor Sharpe addressed to his brother, John Sharpe, M. P., in England, dated May 27, 1756 (*Archives of Md.*, VI, 424): Already by 1754, within the settled parts of the province, there was a dearth of sufficiently large and otherwise desirable bodies of vacant land which might be erected into proprietary manors. This significant fact is brought out in a letter addressed by Sharpe to Cecilius Calvert, uncle of Frederick, 6th Lord Baltimore, in England, dated May 3, 1754: ". . . I was informed that there was not a Tract of Land unless one I have a prospect of in the lower part of the Eastern Shore & the Barrens extensive enough to answer that purpose in any part of the Province, except in Frederick County near the Frontiers . . ." *Archives of Md.*, VI, 57.

⁶⁰ The name of Golden Branch occurs again in the certificate of survey of "Fair Cross," laid out for John Cole, in 1741, "on the North side of Deer Creek in ye reserve beginning at a bounded black oak on ye south side of ye Golden Branch" (Unpatented Certificate No. 564, Baltimore Co.). "Golden Hill" is the name of a tract of land taken up by John Thomas in 1774, situated near and to the southwards of "Miner's Adventure." (Patented Cert. No. 176, Harford Co.) This was probably already a current place-name. The presence of iron pyrites in the soil might account for names like these.

hannah River unto the [lands] already surveyed for Robert West and . . . Webster then with those lands and *along the Edge of the Barrens* unto a Tract of land heretofore laid out for the Gardners of Baltimore County supposed to be called Fathers Request⁶¹ then by a straight Line passing along the Westernmost Side of the said Tract unto [the] nearest Part of Deer Creek then up Deer Creek unto the Place of Beginning."⁶²

For our purposes this record, taken together with what has been said above about "Arabia Petrea," may be interpreted as follows:

The eastern bounds of the Reserve followed the right bank of the Susquehanna from the mouth of Muddy Creek, in York County, to the mouth of Broad Creek in Maryland; thence to the land of Robert West⁶³ ("Maidens Mount"), above Bald Hill, where, leaving the Susquehanna, the Reserve bounded upon "Maiden's Mount," until it intersected the watershed between Broad Creek and Peddler's Run, half a mile from the river. The line of the Reserve then followed this watershed up to its head, and ran thence, *bounding more or less closely upon the edge of the Barrens*,⁶⁴ to a tract of land situated on the northern side of Deer Creek called "The Father's Request," passing near to the west of Dublin, and leaving out to the east the whole of "Arabia Petrea" and some vacant land. This is the longest line limiting the Barrens of which we have a record.

It seems fairly certain that the southeastern limits of the Barrens crossed Deer Creek between Sandy Hook and the mouth of the Mine Run, that is to say, not less than 9 nor more than 11 miles, above the mouth of the creek. The whole valley of Deer Creek and its affluents above the mouth of the Mine Branch, in Maryland, seems to have lain within what was called and known as "the Barrens."

⁶¹ "The Fathers Request," 537 acres, was laid out for Ignatius and Richard Gardner of Prince George's Co., April 26, 1721, on the north side of Deer Creek in the fork of Gardiner's Branch. (Patent Records for Land, Liber I. L. No. A. f. 376.)

⁶² The subject of the Reserve is an integral part of the history of the settlement of the Piedmont area of Baltimore Co. I have worked out in my notes what is known concerning its boundaries.

⁶³ There can be no question as to the identity of the land of Robert West, cited in Lloyd's instructions September 25, 1722. It is "Maiden's Mount." But what of Webster's land, also called for? It appears to be a question, not of two separate parcels of land, but of one and the same tract. A careful search made by Mr. Waring and myself failed to bring to light any certificate of survey, patented or unpatented, issued to a Webster for land in that neighborhood before the date above mentioned. But there is recorded among the Land Records of Baltimore Co., Liber I. S. No. G, folio 132ff., a 99-year lease of "Maiden's Mount," 400 acres, dated May 17, 1722, from Robert West to Messrs. Nicholas Roach, Philip Syng, and Michael Webster, & Co., as tenants in common including "all Mines and Mineral Bodies of what Kinds oever [sic] which are or shall be found . . . in Maidens Mount. . . ."

⁶⁴ The exact limits of the Barrens on Deer Creek cannot be determined from the data in hand. In laying out "Roses Green," in the year 1717, the surveyor noted "barrens" to the northward of the site, which lies below "The Father's Request." The question is one of local interest only.

It seems equally certain that the Barrens crossed the headwaters of Winters Run.⁶⁵ There is some reason to believe that the edge of the Barrens in the Fork of Winters Run was not far above the parting of the East and West branches of that stream. It is stated in a contemporary record that the Barrens were distant 12 miles from the town of Joppa.⁶⁶ Nowhere else, in my opinion, could they have come so close to Joppa as in the Fork of Winters Run, near the junction of its two head streams, even if for "twelve miles" we should read "thirteen," or "fourteen." For the area between the West Branch of Winters Run and the Little Falls of Gunpowder River there are in hand no records whereby the limits of the Barrens may accurately be defined; but it has already been shown that a large tract of land, "John's Barrens Enlarged," which lies in Harford County, about the headwaters of the Little Falls and the Old York Road, and extends some 1-3/4 miles southwards from Blackhorse or thereabouts, was, when first taken up, composed of a mixture of bare barrens (one half), bushy ground and sapling land. There is reason to believe that the edge of the Barrens in that part of Harford County did not fall below the southern limits of this survey.⁶⁷ It is also reasonable

⁶⁵ It is this author's opinion that Lloyds remark that the Barrens crossed "the Heads of Patapsco, Gunpowder and Bush Rivers" (see above text) is accurate information. It is true for the two main head branches of Patapsco Falls, the North Branch and the South Branch, as well as for the Great Falls of Gunpowder River. Bush River is an estuary, into which flow Winters Run, Bynams Run, and lesser streams. Bynams Run rises at Forest Hill. It is very unlikely that even the uppermost parts of its valley lay within the Barrens. There remains Winters Run. The headwaters of this stream, the East and the West Branches, unite at a point eleven miles distant from the site of Joppa Town, at the mouth of the Little Falls of Gunpowder River. The sources of these head branches lie within a mile of each other, near Madonna. In my opinion the Barrens extended some distance below Jarrettsville in the forks of Winters Run. Only in this way can I account for their approaching to within twelve miles of Joppa Town. (See note 66.)

⁶⁶ In *Md. Gazette*, May 9, 1759, a great forest fire in Baltimore Co. is reported; included is this sentence. "*It is supposed the fire began in the Barrens, about twelve miles from Joppa.*"

The point of union of the two head streams of Winters Run is 11 miles from the site of Joppa, in a northwesterly direction. It is the opinion of this author that the trend of the out-bounds of the Barrens was southwest from Deer Creek to the Fork of Winters Run, then northeast to the Little Falls of Gunpowder, east of Shepperd, or thereabouts.

⁶⁷ "My Lady's Manor," sometimes called "My Lord Baltimore's Gift," was laid out for Lady Baltimore, August 26, 1713, for 10,000 acres, but was found, by resurvey, to contain 12,000 acres. It was not opened to settlers until 20 years later. A description of its bounds will be found in Baltimore Co. Land Records, Liber I. S. No. L., f. 229: Brerewood to Brerewood, 1731. It seems hardly credible that the surveyor laid out this manor so as to include any considerable quantity of barrens.

A Tax-List of Eden and Bush River Upper Hundreds, 1783, divides the lands entered therein into three classifications: good, middling and sorry. Some 618 acres of the manor are classified as "sorry," 80 acres as "middling" and only 55 acres as "good." To infer that this means the presence of barrens would, I believe, be going too far.

to suppose that the Barrens drifted over the Little Falls of Gunpowder from the East above the crossing of the Old York Road into the north-eastern corner of what is now the Tenth District of Baltimore County, which is formed by the county line and the First Mine Run. This stream, the northern boundary of the Tenth District, rises near Blackhorse and empties into the Great Falls of Gunpowder about $\frac{1}{4}$ mile below Whitehall.⁶⁸ It is unlikely that the Barrens penetrated very far into what was formerly known as the Fork of Gunpowder, which included all of the Eleventh District, and nearly all of the Tenth District, of Baltimore County.⁶⁹ Evidence indicates that a certain tract of land, situated in the northwestern corner of the Tenth District, along the edge of the valley of the First Mine Run, lay outside the limits of the Barrens.⁷⁰

The Barrens must have covered close to four-fifths of what is now the Seventh District of Baltimore County, nearly the whole of the Sixth (there may have been a narrow strip free of barrens along the Pennsylvania line), not less than three-fourths of the Fifth, and, perhaps, the northern part of the Fourth District. Within this compact and considerable area are situated many old surveys which are described in newspapers, as well as in land records as lying in the Barrens. These records are important. The lands in question are scattered about here and there, in places where otherwise the presence of the Barrens would be only a matter of inference.⁷¹ Unfortunately, very few surveys call for the edges or limits of the Barrens, and resort must generally be had to inference, when we try to determine these limits.

⁶⁸ The 7th Dist. of Baltimore Co. lies to the north of the First Mine Run, earlier known as Fuller's Mine Run, Mine Branch, or Great Mine Branch. In 1741 it was made the dividing line between two hundreds, the uppermost of which became Upper Gunpowder Hundred. In 1758 its name was changed to Mine Run Hundred. (Balto. Co. Court Proceedings, Liber B. No. T.R.I., f. 151; "Sessions," 1757-1759, f. 171.) As we go north from the first Mine Run, the next considerable affluent of the Great Falls is the Second Mine Run (formerly the Little Mine Run); next the Third Mine Run and the Fourth Mine Run. In old records these streams are mentioned, respectively, under the names of the Woody Hill Branch and the Mirey Branch.

⁶⁹ The Fork of Gunpowder (from which the village called Fork takes its name) was all that part of (old) Baltimore Co. which was bounded by the two main "falls" of Gunpowder River, a small stretch of shoreline between the mouths of these two "falls," and a line drawn west from the head of the Little Falls, $\frac{1}{2}$ mile south of Blackhorse, and now in Harford Co., to meet the Great Falls at or near Whitehall.

⁷⁰ On August 20, 1757, Walter Tolley conveyed to William Young a tract of land called "United Friendship," 180 acres, which is described in the deed as situated "in the fork of Gunpowder near the Barrens." (Balto. Co. Land Records, Liber B. No. G., 1757-1759, f. 88.) "United Friendship" was laid out, Sept. 22, 1722, for John Fuller, James Isham, John Elliott and Nehemiah Hicks. (Baltimore Co. Rent Roll, Calvert Papers No. 883, f. 298.)

⁷¹ These early, contemporary references to the Barrens are as follows:

(1) A tract of land called "Crosses Park," surveyed by John Cross, March 12, 1742, described as situated "in the Barrens in the fork of Gunpowder Falls at a place called Chesnut Ridge, beginning at two bounded black oaks standing in

In attempting to work out the southern limits of the Barrens from the Fork of Gunpowder across Baltimore County into Carroll County, we are taking pains not to attribute to the Barrens a greater extent than is likely. In my opinion, the line of the Barrens crossed the Great Falls in the neighborhood of Whitehall and the mouth of the First Mine Run, not below the latter. I think it not unlikely that a considerable amount of land, situated in the angle between the Great Falls and the mouth of the Western Run, below Whitehall, lay outside the Barrens, and that the edge of the Barrens passed close to Hereford, most probably, to the westward of that place.⁷² The upper part of the valley of the Black Rock Run⁷³

the head of a bottom that descends into the north branch of the said falls." (Patent Records for Land, Liber E. I. No. 6, f. 657.)

(2) Ann Bosley, of Baltimore Co., in her will, July 16, 1819, leaves to her daughter, Ann, the land which Thomas Cole bequeathed to the testatrix, "lying and being in Baltimore County, in what is generally called Baltimore Barrens." (Wills, Baltimore Co., Vol. 13, f. 152.) From the will of Thomas Cole, August 27, 1792, we learn that the land in question was composed of two tracts, viz., part of "Quarterman's Choice," and a tract of leased land called "Abraham's Choice." (Wills, Baltimore Co., Vol. 5, f. 53). These lands lie north and northeast of Black Rock, over towards the source of Prettyboy Run. In the past century they belonged mostly to the Bossom and Thompson families.

(3) On Jan. 15, 1782, there was advertised for sale in the *Md. Journal* a tract (not named), containing 600 acres, and described as situated "on what are called the Barrens of Baltimore, distance from Baltimore Town about 30 miles, and near the road leading to McAlister's Town and York." The road is identified as the Baltimore-Hanover Road. McAllister's Town is the older name for Hanover. (See adv. of J. Calhoun in *Md. Journal and Baltimore Advertiser*, May 20, 1783, offering for sale a plantation "within one mile of Hanover alias M'Callister's Town.") If the distance from Baltimore Town is correctly estimated, this land should lie in the immediate neighborhood of Manchester, in Carroll Co.

(4) John Stansbury, of Baltimore Co., in his will, December 18, 1781, leaves to his son, Caleb Stansbury, a tract of land called "Hogg Harbour," and to his son John Stansbury, a tract of land called "Stansbury's Prospect," both tracts described as situated "in the Barrens" (Wills, Baltimore Co., Vol. 5, f. 102, 103).

Unfortunately, not all the lands mentioned as situated in Gunpowder Barrens can be identified:

John Tate, who describes himself as "of Baltimore Barrens," advertises in the *Md. Journal* for Dec. 18, 1773, that his wife, Meriam, has eloped. I find no land in his possession at that time.

Thomas Stansbury, Jr., "leaving in about six weeks for Kentucky," advertised in the *Md. Journal*, Sept. 9, 1780, the sale of two tracts of land, containing, respectively, 180 acres and 247 acres. These lands are described as situated "on Gunpowder Barrens"; but the patent names are not given. The smaller of the two is said to be "well timbered," while the larger has "a plenty of young thriving timber fit for fencing." This last suggests the evolution of the sapling land so characteristic of the Barrens, as we have already noted. Considerable effort to identify these tracts of land has ended so far in failure.

⁷² See note 2. The fact that the country between Hereford and Mount Carmel was lately known as "the barrens" seems to me almost certainly a case of the survival of the name in a restricted area rather than that of a separate and, perhaps, more recent origin. The trend of the Barrens southwest from the valley of the First Mine Run to the Black Rock Run would have carried them across this stretch of country. If it remained "backward," as it did, we should not be surprised that the ancient designation for a whole region clung to it.

and most of the valley of the Piney Run⁷⁴ were most certainly within the Barrens; so too, the head of Buffalo Run. Black Rock Run and Piney Run are the most considerable feeders of the Western Run on its northern side. On the other hand, there is reason to believe that the valley of Western Run, itself, excepting its headwaters, did not come within the Barrens. There is a record of a tract of land situated on the western side of this run "upon the Edge or Beginning of the Barrens of Gunpowder,"⁷⁵ but the precise situation of the land remains unknown. This is a tantalizing record as it is the key to a problem, but stubbornly refuses to yield to research. Where indeed was the "west side" of Western Run? If the record is strictly accurate, the land may lie somewhere above Butler and the mouth of Piney Run.

Tentatively, we should place Woodsburg and the head of Western Run, Fourth District, in the Barrens. It seems to be definitely established that land on Cockey's Mill Road, between Reisterstown and the Main Falls of the Patapsco, was in the Barrens.⁷⁶ It is not improbable that there was an extension of the Barrens down the Falls so that they joined and made one with that once vast tract of waste land called the Soldiers Delight. There exists contemporary evidence to the effect that Soldiers Delight was regarded as part and parcel of the Barrens of Patapsco.⁷⁷

⁷⁴ In Jan. 16, 1777, Micajah Merryman advertised a reward for return of three steers and a bull, which had strayed from his plantation (Thomas Cox, tenant), "near Mr. Thomas Mathews mill, *in the edge of the Barrens*." His loss is reported as of July, 1776. Attempts to identify his plantation, 1776-1777, have proved futile. The mill, in 1777, stood on Black Rock Run. In *Md. Journal*, Nov. 1, 1775, Jacob Lemmon announces completion of a fulling mill "on black rock run, above Thomas Mathews' mill, formerly Scott's mill."

Mathias Wisner, who was "living in Baltimore County, near Joseph Scott's mill, in Gunpowder Barrens," *Md. Gazette*, Oct. 27, 1774, advertised for the return of a runaway servant.

⁷⁶ On Piney Run, adjacent to each other, lay two tracts of land, "Pyney Meadows," and "Brotherhood." A land commission was held, June 26, 1786, on behalf of Leonard Belt, to fix the bounds of these lands, at which time William Parrish, aet. 44, deposed that 12 or 13 years before, "a certain Samuel Price came out into the Barrens on purpose to shew the beginning of Pyney Meadows," taking with him John and Stephen Gill and the deponent. (Land Records of Baltimore Co. Liber D. D., f. 387ff.)

⁷⁷ In the will of John Frashier, of Baltimore Town, March 7, 1756, is this item: "I will and Order that my Tract of Land called Thompsons Trust, situate, lying and being on the West side of the Weston [sic] Run upon the Edge or Beginning of the Barrens of Gunpowder with a caution on the same Lodged in the Hands of Mr. Nicholas Gay for taking up any vacancy, the said Tract as aforementioned I will shall be immediately after my Decease be sold by my Executors to the best advantage" &c. (Wills, Baltimore Co., Vol. 2, f. 94.)

⁷⁸ In the will of Peter Bond of Baltimore Co., "innholder," dated Dec. 26, 1762, the testator leaves to his son, Samuel Bond, "all my lands in the Barrens where he is now settled." (Wills, Hall of Records, Annapolis, Md., Vol. 31, f. 894.) "White Oak Bottom" is, most probably, the land "in the Barrens." It lies on the east side of the northern bank of Patapsco Falls, on Cockey's Mill Road.

⁷⁹ In *Md. Gazette*, Sept. 23, 1745, there was advertised for sale a tract of land,

On crossing the watershed between the Great Falls of Gunpowder River and the Northern Branch of Patapsco Falls (now one of the chief sources for the supply of water to Baltimore City), the Barrens underwent a change of name. Within the drainage basin of the Great Gunpowder Falls they were called Gunpowder or Baltimore Barrens. In the basin of the Patapsco, in what is now Carroll Co., they were known as Patapsco Barrens.

The upper limits of the Barrens in Baltimore and Carroll Counties do not seem to be clearly established by contemporary records. From Deer Creek westwards, across the headwaters of the Great Falls of Gunpowder River, the Barrens, in all likelihood, ran close below the state line. Lands close to the line in the northwest corner of the Sixth District of Baltimore Co. were within Gunpowder Barrens.⁷⁸ That they extended over line into York Co. is unlikely. There lies Shrewsbury Township, and the York Co. historians do not admit that the York Barrens, vast as they were, occupied any part of this township.

Included in the Barrens were a part of the headwaters of Great Pipe Creek.⁷⁹ This stream has two principal sources, which unite at Bachman's

containing 250 acres, part of "Scutt's Level." The land is recommended as being situated conveniently for stock, "*there being an outlet to the Barrens of Patapsco.*" "Scutt's Level," 500 acres, was surveyed for John Scutt, March 28, 1702, on a branch of Gwinns Falls called in the survey, and still known, as Scutt's Level Branch. (Patent Records for Land, Liber D. D. No. 5, f. 60.) It lies in the 2nd Dist. of Baltimore Co. Soldiers Delight lies in the northwestern corner of this district, extending from the head of Scutt's Level Branch over towards Patapsco Falls and northward to Red Run. Some have supposed that this natural barrens was named by rangers under Captain John Oldton, who, in the 1690s, patrolled this region, before it was settled by white men, and had their headquarters in a fort called The Garrison, which is still standing. The theory is plausible, but will probably never be proved right or wrong.

⁷⁸ In *Md. Journal*, Nov. 17, 1778, there appeared two advertisements, one of Stofel Fair, the other of Alex. [sic] Lemmon, junior, giving notice that stray steers, owners unknown, were at their respective plantations. Both men described themselves as "living in Gunpowder Barrens." They were neighbors. Their lands at that date lay in what is now the northwestern corner of the 6th Dist. of Baltimore Co., the old North Hundred, between the Northern and Western Prongs of Gunpowder Falls, not more than 1 mile below the Pennsylvania line.

The author has been at great pains to work out the problem of the ownership and transfers of this land (though the details are not printed), because, in his opinion, to prove that this section of Baltimore Co. was within the limits of Gunpowder Barrens is, relatively speaking, important.

⁷⁹ Mr. Hemphill has sent me from Williamsburg, Virginia, a copy of a letter found in the Allison Papers, Box 5 (Jan., 1768), which reads in part as follows: Joseph Ensor, of Baltimore Co., to William Allison: "If you want to see John Kemp he lives in the Barrens Pipe Creek [author's italics] about Twenty Miles from Baltimore [not under 30 miles] to go to his house you must go from here you must keep up the Road near North about a mile when you must keep the Left hand Road about seven miles to Ezekiel Towsons who keeps tavern at the sign of the horse [site of Towson Town?] then enquire the way to Wheelers Mill—and also the nearest way to Kemps." &c.

Since the debt-books of Baltimore Co. do not show John Kemp as paying taxes on any land, it has been impossible to identify his place of residence.

Mills, near the foot of the Dugg Hill Ridge.⁸⁰ The southernmost of these two head stream rises along the southeastern side of the ridge, and has feeders which rise near the Manchester-Westminster Road. There is every reason to believe that this part of the Great Pipe Creek basin lay within the Barrens; but when we are confronted with proof that lands situated several miles to the westward of the Dug Hill, on Deep Run, were in the Barrens,⁸¹ we are at a loss to explain how these barrens and the main body of the Barrens lying to the eastward, were connected.

The upper limits of the Barrens, in Carroll Co., passed very close to (but in this author's opinion, did not extend beyond) the town of Westminster.⁸² Parr's Ridge, a "divide" between the drainage basins of the Monocacy and the Patapsco, which runs southwest from Westminster to Mount Airy, probably limited the Barrens on the northeast. In fact, a definite limit is established for the Barrens on the southern side of this ridge, on Little Morgan's Run. Here is situated a parcel of land, 64 acres, part of "Dorsey's Millfrog," which Caleb Dorsey conveyed to Job Evans, March 10, 1753. The land so conveyed is described as lying in Baltimore Co., "on the north side of Patapsco Barrens."⁸³

⁸⁰ The origin of this curious place-name is disputed.

⁸¹ In a letter, March 20, 1749-50, Dr. Charles Carroll of Annapolis, writing to Isaac Brookes, Surveyor for Frederick Co., says in part as follows: "Inclosed I send you four certificates there to be returned by virtue of warrants in your hands before vitz High Germany, Carroll's Range, & the Pines, as also Chesnutt Ridge, for which you have a warrant herein enclosed, the latter warrant is for 450 acres but I believe there is no more than 340 in the survey and I would not have it changed *as no Land about is worth Takeing up it being in the Barrens,*" &c. (*Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXIII, 255.)

The aforesaid land, "Chesnutt Ridge," was surveyed for Dr. Carroll, January 24, 1750, and contained 390 acres. It is described as "lying on Deep Run [still so called] a branch of Great Pipe Creek." (Patented Certificate No. 840, Baltimore Co.)

⁸² *Md. Journal*, Oct. 26, 1792, contains an advertisement inserted by Wm. McLaughlin, Sheriff of Baltimore Co., which reads in part: "For sale . . . A small tract of land lying in the Barrens of Baltimore County about six miles from Baltimore Town in the neighbourhood of Little Winchester [Westminster], and adjoining the lands of the Hon. Charles Carroll of Carrollton, containing from 100 to 150 acres. The whole of the above property is the estate of the late Charles Ridgely, of John."

The Index of Deeds, Baltimore Co. Land Records, has no reference to the sale of this land and Mr. Waring has not found any such decree in Chancery.

After a serious study of the case, the author has reached the conclusion that the land so advertised was part of "Bond's Meadows Enlarged," a resurvey for Thomas Bond, Jan. 31, 1753, and patented to John Ridgely, father of Charles, Aug 18, (Patented Certificate No. 686, Baltimore Co.).

"Bond's Meadows Enlarged" lay, originally, partly in Baltimore Co. and partly in Frederick Co., extending across the northern part of the town of Westminster. (Chancery Papers No. 50, f. 395-402; Scharf Western Maryland, II, 784.) The adjacent land of the Hon. Charles Carroll, mentioned in the foregoing advertisement, was beyond any reasonable doubt, "Rochester," which was surveyed for him in 1773, and comes within 1 miles of Westminster (Scharf, II, 784).

⁸³ Baltimore Co. Land Records, Liber B. B. No. J, f. 12. The tract of land in question lies on the Old (not the present) Liberty Road, where is crossed the old

Some account of the geography of the Fork of Patapsco Falls in what is now Carroll Co. is indispensable at this juncture:

The North Branch of the Falls and its Northern Prong, which heads up near Westminster, receives, on its western side, the following streams, or "runs" which are worthy of mention:

Roaring Run, the valley of which lies between the Reisterstown Turnpike and the Falls; then, Beaver (Dam) Run, one of the two head branches of which is called Middle Run; Middle Run; Morgan's Run and Piney Run. Morgan's Run is the most considerable; Piney Run, the next. Morgan's Run rises along Parr's Ridge. One of its two head streams is called Little Morgan's Run (the former Burnt House Run). Something over three miles above its mouth Morgan's Run is joined on the west by (another) Little Morgan's Run.

The so-called South Branch of Patapsco Falls, formerly known as the Western or Delaware Falls, which divides Carroll Co. from Howard Co. receives two important affluents on its northern side: Gillis' Falls and Piney Branch. One of the affluents of the former is called Middle Run.

This part of the county has three streams called Middle Run; two called Little Morgan's Run; two streams called "Piney."

Beaver (Dam) Run rises near the Reisterstown Turnpike, in the immediate neighborhood of Westminster, and empties into the North Branch of Patapsco Falls about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles south of Finksburg. It is about 9 miles long. Cockey's Mill Road crosses the Falls at the mouth of this stream. Not less than 7 of these 9 miles, measured from the source downwards, lay within the Barrens,⁸⁴ and it is by no means excluded

boundary line between Baltimore and Frederick Co., near Dennings. The author is indebted to Dr. Arthur G. Tracey for fixing precisely the situation of a tract of land called "The Stage" at the head of Little Morgan's Run ("the Burnt House Run"). These data have been very helpful in reaching the foregoing conclusion. It should be added that "Dorsey's Millfog," 430 acres, was surveyed for Caleb Dorsey, July 4, 1751 (Patented Certificate No. 1470, Baltimore Co.).

⁸⁴ There exists no reasonable doubt that the headwaters of Beaver Dam Run (now known as Beaver Run) lay within the Barrens. Evidence to that effect has already been presented. It is a question, therefore, to show how far down this valley the Barrens extended:

On May 2, 1769, James Hammond conveyed to Isaac Hammond a tract of land containing 100 acres, called "Hammond's Meadows," "situate on Patapsco Barrens in Baltimore County." (Land Records of Baltimore Co., Liber A. L. No. A., f. 246; Scharf Papers, Additional Rent Roll, Western Shore, Baltimore Co., 1758, part 2; Particular Tax List, Baltimore Co., Delaware Upper Hundred, 1798; Land Records, Baltimore Co., Liber WG. No. 92, f. 7.) It lies in Carroll Co., on the S. W. Fork of Beaver [Dam] Run, called the Middle Run, which rises near Fenby, and unites with Beaver Run above Walnut Grove.

In the *Md. Journal* Aug. 20, 1784, there was advertised for sale, by John Gay Moore, a tract of land containing 200 acres, being part of a larger tract called "The Flag Meadow," "lying in Patapsco Barrens, near the road leading from Baltimore to Frederick Town, and about 7 miles from Reisterstown." The Flag Meadow, a resurvey on 10 acres, was laid out for James Moore, Jr., July 20, 1754, and included no less than 1124 acres of vacant land. It lies on a "glade"

that the Barrens extended down the run and the Falls all the way to the aforesaid crossing. West of Finksburg an indentation in the southern edge of the Barrens seems to have developed, and their limits on Morgan's Run appear to have been situated a little above Glee's Mill, between 5 and 6 miles above the mouth of that considerable watercourse.⁸⁵ If so, the distance across the Barrens, at their lowest limit on Morgan's Run, northwest to Deeming, at the foot of Parr's Ridge, was less than 5 miles, which is considerably less than Carroll's figure as to the depth of the Barrens, and almost certainly less than the average. In the valley of Piney Run the Barrens came down to within a few miles of Springfield Hospital,⁸⁶ if they did not actually take in the side of this institution.⁸⁷

called the Flag Meadow, "which descends into Beaverdam Run which descends into the North Fork of Patapsco Falls." The Flag Meadow Branch or "Glade" descends into Beaver (Dam) Run on its western side about 1 miles west of Finksburg.

In *Md. Journal* April 7, 1778, Simon Vashon advertised a reward for the return of a convict servant who had run away from his plantation "in Patapsco Barrens." The aforesaid Vashon, or Vashan, and one Wm. Randall, in 1775, purchased of Thomas Stevens, 25 acres, "Long Meadow" and 188 acres, "Stephens Folly Resurveyed," "beginning at a bounded white oak standing on a rock on the North side of the Beaver Dam Run descending into the Great Falls of Patapsco." (Land Records, Baltimore Co., Liber A. L. No. N., f. 302.) So far as I can learn, Vashon had no interest in any other land in 1778. Here, then, in 1778, was, in all probability, his plantation. The tract of land so conveyed lies on the Beaver (Dam) Run, within 1 miles and northwest of Finksburg.

Finksburg lies north about 1-1/2 miles above the mouth of Beaver (Dam) Run. No certain proof has been found that the Barrens extended down the valley of this run to its mouth. However, according to evidence which has already been presented, land on Cockeys Mill Road, east of the Falls, was in the Barrens, and we should not be surprised if there were barrens on the opposite side of the Falls.

⁸⁵ In *Md. Gazette*, Mar. 23, 1769, John Campbell offered for sale a tract situated "in the Forest of Baltimore County, joining the land where Benjamin Barnes formerly lived." This land was "Campbell's Search," which, according to the advertisement "joins the Barrens." The tract lies in Carroll Co., between Nicodemus Road and Morgan's Run, between 3 and 4 miles of Finksburg, southwest of Bird Hill, on a small branch of Morgan's Run, the mouth of which lies a short distance above Glee Mill, 5-3/4 miles above the mouth of the run.

⁸⁶ John Dorsey, of "Elk Ridge Landing," inserted in *Md. Gazette*, Nov. 23, 1767, following advertisement: "I have a Tract of Land lying in the Barrens of Baltimore County containing about Two Thousand five hundred acres, on which there is a good deal of fine meadow, the soil is particularly adapted for making colour'd tobacco. . . ."

There is no doubt that this extensive tract in the Barrens was "Windsor Forrest," on Piney Run (not to be confused with a tract of land of the same name, lying in Anne Arundel [now Howard] Co.). This "Windsor Forrest" was later resurveyed for Dorsey as "Windsor Forrest Resurveyed"; later still resurveyed for Wm. Buchanan as "Windsor Forrest Corrected." Mr. Waring has been of great help to the author in working out this problem. It is important, because we have no other evidence, except by inference, for the Barrens so far down the Piney Run.

On Sept. 15, 1764, there was surveyed for John Dorsey "John's Industry," patented and surveyed to Wm. Lux, included 603 acres vacant land one patented tract, "Hawk's Acre." The latter survey for Edw. Dorsey, Apr. 10, 1761, is described as taking its beginning on north side of Lone Tree Branch, a draught

All the upper valley of the South Branch of the Patapsco⁸⁸ (the former Western or Delaware Falls), including Gillis's Falls,⁸⁹ in Carroll Co., lay in the Barrens. How far down the South Branch the Barrens extended is a question which cannot at present be answered. In the opinion of this author they came pretty close to Sykesville, which is to say, within 5 miles of the junction of the 2 main branches of Patapsco Falls.

Within the area of that part of Carroll Co. which was once occupied by the Barrens a very great quantity of land remained "vacant," that is,

of Western Falls of the Patapsco. Lux conveyed "John's Industry" to Wm. Russell (Liber A. L. No. D, f. 521). Russell advertised for sale in *Md. Journal*, April 13, 1779, "To be sold, also at private sale, a tract of Land in Baltimore County, near W. Hardigan's Tavern, on the main road from Baltimore to Frederick Town [the Liberty Road]. Although this land lies in what is commonly called the Barrens, its quality is very good, the soil being well adapted to planting or farming, it is full of wood and abounds in the best meadow lands. The Piney Fall of Patapsco runs through it. There is plenty of water and the best of range." The property may have been as valuable as it was represented to be, but if so, its virtues were slow in being discovered, since it was vacant land as late as 1761. In *Md. Journal* May 8, 1781, Russell again offered it for sale. The property is described as situated on the Piney falls of Patapsco, 30 miles from Baltimore Town, and 1/2 mile from William Hardigan's Tavern. This tavern is shown on Griffith's Map of Maryland, 1794. In the opinion of this author, it stood at Winfield. The Lone Tree Branch must be the head stream of Gillis's Falls. The sources of Piney Run and Gillis's Falls interlock about Winfield.

⁸⁷ Scharf's description of the condition of a tract of 3000 acres, bought by George Patterson in 1824, later known as Springfield Estate, is suggestive: The land, afterwards developed by Patterson into a farm noted for its fertility, presented "a naked surface, incapable almost of cultivation." Overworking may have brought about this condition, but it remains possible that these lands had once formed an integral part of the Barrens. See *Western Maryland*, II, 871.

⁸⁸ On Sept. 24, 1755, Daniel Clary of Frederick Co. conveyed to Benjamin Clary of Baltimore Co. 74 acres, part of a tract of land called "Buck Bottom," and described as "situate in Baltimore County in the Barrens near the head drafts of the Western Falls of Patapsco River." (Baltimore Co. Land Records, Liber B. B. No. J., f. 593.) The author has put himself to considerable pains in the hope of fixing definitely the situation of land conveyed by Clary to Clary, 1755, but with only partial success. It lies in the 9th (Franklin) Dist. of Carroll Co., and it seems fairly certain that it is situated in the valley of the Middle Run of Gillis's Falls, south of the Harrisville Road, and to the northeast of Mount Airey. "Buck Bottom" was part of the estate of Upton Hammond, who died in 1822.

⁸⁹ In *Md. Journal*, Dec. 15, 1778, there appeared an advertisement of the sale of divers lands, including 4 tracts, all lying in a body, adjacent one to another, namely, "String Enlarged," 644 acres, part of "Mansell's United Friendship," 359 acres, "Mansell's Purchase," 1400 acres, and "The Scheme," 14 acres, in all, 2477 acres. These lands are described as situated between 25 and 30 miles from Baltimore Town. They have (thus candidly runs the advertisement) "no timber, except on the main western fork of the Western or Delaware Falls [meaning, the South Branch of Patapsco Falls, above the mouth of the North Fork, now called Gillis's Falls] where enough may be procured to build tobacco houses." The mouth of Gillis's Falls is a short distance above Woodbine.

Here we have a typical picture of lands in the Barrens: no timber, except on bottom lands along a watercourse.

not taken up, until well after the middle of the 18th century.⁹⁰ This phenomenon is attributable to the fact that it was taken for granted that lands in the Barrens were of inferior quality and, generally, of little if any value for agricultural purposes.

In Howard (then part of Anne Arundel Co.) the Barrens occupied an extensive area, which was bounded on the north by the South Branch of Patapsco Falls, and which stretched from Snowden's River, the main freshwater branch of the Patuxent, over across Cattail River⁹¹ (Creek) to the Middle River of Patuxent.⁹² A number of contemporary references to these barrens are in hand, most of them, unfortunately, obscure; resisting interpretation.⁹³ A general idea of the situation of the Barrens in Anne Arundel Co. is provided by an advertisement which appeared in the *Maryland Journal* April 8, 1777, wherein John Dorsey, who describes himself as "living in the barrens of Anne Arundel County, the back part of Elk Ridge,"⁹⁴ offers a reward for the return of a runaway servant. This section of the Barrens was doubtless almost, if not wholly, comprised within the bounds of an old division of the county called "The

⁹⁰ Between 1759 and 1773 nine tracts were resurveyed and were found to contain 26,516 acres of vacant land. The tracts were The Flag Meadow, Hooker's Meadows, Stevenson's Deer Park and Troutling Streams, Upper Marlboro, Peach Brandy Forrest, Eppington Forrest, Everything Needful, Rochester, and Calledonia.

⁹¹ A tract of land called "Hamutels Choice," surveyed for Richard Welsh, July 31, 1755, and containing 5 acres, is described as follows: "lying in Ann¹¹ County on the Drafts of Snowdens River of Patuxent in the Barrens Beginning at two Bounded chestnuts standing on the west side of a Hill facing one of the Drafts of Cattail River." (Scharf Papers, Additional Rent Roll of the Western Shore, Anne Arundel County, 1755.) "Prospect," 10 acres, surveyed for Christopher Geist, September 20, 1740, is described as "lying on the fork of Patuxent River and on the Westernmost Branch of Catail River in the Barrens." To this entry in the rent-roll is appended the following note: "No Land clear of Elder Surveys." ("Anne Arundel Co. Land Records, 1651-1774," f. 400, MS. Md. Hist. Soc.)

⁹² On May 9, 1751, there was resurveyed for Michael Wallis a tract of land called "Curry Galls," described as "lying and being in Anne Arundel County in the Barrans near the head of the Middle River of Patuxent" (now called the Middle Patuxent). The resurvey mentions a "Barren Ridge" and calls for a tract of land named "Henry and Peter." The original surveys calls for a stream named Mewshams Branch, which has not been identified. (Patented Certificate No. 372, Anee Arundel Co.)

⁹³ In inventory of Edward Dorsey, of Caleb, of Belmont, April 16, 1799, are listed Negroes and stock "at the Plantation in the Barrens," and crops of wheat and rye "at the Barrens Farm." (Hall of Records, Anne Arundel Co. Records, Box 44, folder 38.) It is likely, although not certain, that these lands in the Barrens were situated in Anne Arundel (now Howard) Co.

A tract of land called "The Neglect," surveyed for John Howard, December 31, 1754, in Anne Arundel Co., "on the south side of the falls of Patapsco River in the Barrens Beginning at 2 Bounded white oaks and a Bounded Red Oak standing at the head of a Draft of Patapsco falls." (Patent Records for Land, Liber B. C. & G. S. No. 4, f. 293.) A resurvey made for John Martin, Jr., Mar. 18, 1761, and patented same year to Geo. Shipley brings out fact this land stands on Western Falls or South Branch Patapsco; Pat. Cert. No. 235, A. A. Co.

⁹⁴ Virtually all of what is now Howard County was once called "Elk Ridge."

Hundred For the Barrens," but usually designated as Bear (or Bare) Ground Hundred, from a place of that name. The following entry is in the Anne Arundel Co. court proceedings for November, 1755: "The Hundred for the Barrens is divided by a line drawn from the Wading place over Snowden's River near Spire's the Taylor to Pooles Branch and with Pooles Branch to the falls of Patapsco."⁹⁵

The limits of Bare (*sic*) Ground Hundred are defined in an entry in the Anne Arundel Co. court proceedings in November, 1752.⁹⁶ The eastern bounds were the Middle Patuxent and Poole's Branch, a stream flowing into the South Branch of Patapsco a little way below Hood's Mills. Its southern boundary was a road leading east from Snowden's River, at Green's Bridge, a short distance above the mouth of Hawlings River, to the Middle River aforesaid.

The further progress of the Barrens to the westward, from the heads of the South Branch of Patapsco Falls and the Main Branch of the Patuxent, seems to be fairly well attested. We have Lloyd's statement (1721) that the Barrens stretched all the way from the Susquehanna to the mouth of the Monocacy; and Carroll's (ca. 1753) that they extended "*thro this Province*" [Maryland]. These statements, made by highly competent observers, would not be true, if the Barrens, in their march towards the southwest, stopped short of the Potomac by a distance of some 16 miles. Further, there is the testimony of Richard Brightwell (1697) as to the "barrens" lying "backwards" from the Potomac, which he sighted in his ranging. But, aside from evidence of extensive barrens on the Little Monocacy,⁹⁷ details are, unfortunately lacking.⁹⁸ Brightwell reports that he ranged up the Potomac to the Sugar Lands. Did he sight the main body of the Barrens? Did the Barrens extend so far below the mouth of the Monocacy? If not, what were the characteristics of the "barrens" observed by the ranger-captain? The answers are not forthcoming.⁹⁹

⁹⁵ Anne Arundel Co. "Judgment," 1754-1756, Liber I. S. B. No. 2, f. 342. Thanks are due to Mr. Hemphill for completing this reference.

⁹⁶ Anne Arundel Co. Court Proceedings, "Judgments," Liber I. S. B. No. 2, f. 438. The author is indebted to Mr. Hemphill for calling his attention to this record.

⁹⁷ *Md. Gazette*, August 2, 1763, an anonymous advertiser offers for sale 760 acres of land (not named) or Little Monocacy, "having Barrens on both sides." The neighborhood of the Barrens was considered desirable because of fine range for stock lay within easy reach.

⁹⁸ Mr. Hemphill has given the author a copy of a notice from the *Md. Gazette*, Oct. 24, 1750, concerning two "highwaymen," who, having "stopp'd Capt. Judd and Mr. Chase, on the Patapsco Road, were seen near the Barrens in Frederick County on Saturday last; but not yet taken."

⁹⁹ There was certainly a considerable area of barrens at the headwaters of Rock Creek, now in Montgomery Co. at the beginning of the 18th century. That these barrens were continuous with, and formed a part of, the Barrens seen and reported by Brightwell is quite possible. On Aug. 19, 1714, John Bradford, of Prince George's Co., petitioned the Land Office on behalf of Thomas Butler, an orphan

In this connection one striking fact must be noted, namely, that about the end of the American Revolution, the western part of Montgomery Co. contained a vast amount of land of a type called "sapling land." Sapling lands, as we have shown, were characteristic of the Barrens. Tax-lists of this country for the year 1783, made out according to "hundreds," clearly reveal this fact.¹⁰⁰ It appears that by "sapling land" the assessors of these hundreds mean both uncultivated land, overgrown with saplings, and cultivated land of the same type. Now, in Sugar Land and Upper Potomac Hundreds there were some 37,206 acres of so-called "sapling land," of which 8873 acres were cultivated. Besides the "sapling land" there were only 4120 acres entered as "good land"; 1350 acres as "good timbl' [ere]d land," 500 acres as "rich" land, 1204 acres as "poor land," 150 acres as "thin land," and 450 acres as "mean land." A few thousand acres more are given a low rating. In Sugar Loaf and Linganore Hundreds there were some 25,806 acres of uncultivated sapling land.¹⁰¹ Consideration should, of course, be given to the relatively late date, and allowance made for the destruction of timber not only by the individual planter and farmer, but more especially in the interest of the iron and glass industries.¹⁰² Nevertheless, the origin of the sapling lands, as we shall presently observe, seems not to have been attributed to these causes by the local inhabitants. They attributed it to fire.

who was possessed in fee simple of 2 tracts of land situated at or near the head of this creek, "Hermitage," and "Joseph's Park," requesting a warrant to resurvey these lands on the ground that a "considerable part" of each of them was "very mean, Barren and unprofitable." The petitioner asked for authority to leave out such parts as were "useless, mean and Barren," and to add a like quantity of "good tillable Land" lying adjacent to the aforesaid tracts; but if none be found adjacent "to supply such said Barrens," he desired a warrant for the same amount to be laid out elsewhere. (Warrants, Liber A. A., f. 333 &c.) These lands were accordingly resurveyed into one tract of land called "Butler's Parke," containing 7400 acres. The survey is dated Sept. 17, 1714. The barren lands left out came to 704 acres, a deficiency which, apparently, could not be made up by taking in adjacent vacant land of good quality. (Patent Records For Land, Liber R. Y. No. 1, f. 190 &c.) For the situation of these lands see Scharf, *Western Maryland*, I, 647.

¹⁰⁰ These tax lists are in the Maryland Historical Society.

¹⁰¹ The assessor distinguishes between sapling land, on the one hand, and, on the other: *chesnut* sapling land; *strong* sapling land; *thin* sapling land; *midling* sapling land; *lofty* sapling land; *common* sapling land; *kind* sapling land, and *brown* sapling land. He distinguishes: timbered land; *strong* timbered land; *brown, strong,* timbered land; middling kind land. One tract is "all wooded chiefly Barren Hills." In contrast to these fine distinctions, the assessors for Harford Co., same year, have only three: good, middling, and sorry.

The primitive appearance of Sugar Loaf Mountain does not seem to have been "barren." De Graffenreid, 1712, found this mountain covered with oaks, chesnuts (chestnut oaks?), and wild nuts. (*Landmarks of Old Prince William*, I, 391.)

¹⁰² We have in mind the Amelung Glass Works on Bennett's Creek. The glass industry had been a cause of a great destruction and dearth of timber in Germany, whence this enterprise came. Lands denuded of timber for the maintenance of the iron industry might in time yield second growth timber, if not cleared, or laid waste by fire. In the *Federal Gazette*, March 2, 1798, Leigh H. Master and James

THE ORIGIN OF THE BARRENS

In this well-known *History of Harford County* the late Judge Preston makes the following remark:

"It was the custome of the Indians in the autumn to set fire to and burn the barrens of York and Baltimore Counties, and tradition says this smoke was the origin of the name of Indian summer for that season."¹⁰³

Maxwell gives abundant proof of the Indian habit of setting fire to the woods "to the end that more wild game might abound, with improved opportunities for hunting it." To this cause he ascribes the vast prairie barrens of the Shenandoah Valley. "Grass covered the region, except for an occasional fringe of trees along the streams [cf. the timbered bottoms of the South Branch of Patapsco River, flanked by barrens]. When the Indians no longer set their fires, trees began to creep back, and the early settlers were obliged to clear away the young growth to open their farms."¹⁰⁴

Kercheval speaks of the "narrow fringes of timber bordering the water courses" of this "vast prairie," which like the much vaster prairies of the West, "afforded the finest possible pasture for wild animals."¹⁰⁵

Rupp attributes the enormous York Barrens in Pennsylvania to the same cause. According to him, it had primarily nothing to do with sterility of soil, but originated "from the circumstances that the Indians for many years, and until 1730 or 1731, to improve this portion of their Great Park for the purpose of hunting, fired the copse or bushes as often as their convenience seemed to call for it; and thus, when the whites commenced settling here, they found no timber, hence they applied the term Barrens, a common appellation at that time, to such portions of the country, however fertile the soil. Portion of the country that were sixty or seventy years ago [1775-1785] without any timber are now [1845] thickly covered with sturdy oaks and large hickories."¹⁰⁶

In December, 1632, the mariner, David Pieterzoon de Vries, coasting along what was to be the Maryland-Delaware seaboard, smelt the smoke of forest fires started by the Indians, when his ship was more than forty

Winchester offered for sale a tract of 6000 acres on Little Pipe Creek, adjoining Westminster Town, or Little Winchester, being the estate of Leigh Master, deceased. "It was formerly occupied by iron works [i. e., the Leigh Furnace] which have long since gone to decay, and the part of the land cut down for coaling is now covered with the increasing quantity of very fine timber."

¹⁰³ By Walter W. Preston (Bel Air, 1901), p. 168.

¹⁰⁴ Maxwell, *op. cit.*, p. 95ff., begins his article with a reference to the old fallacy that Virginia "at the time it first became known to white men was covered with vigorous and unbroken forests." The same popular fallacy persists as to Maryland. It will probably never be downed.

¹⁰⁵ Kercheval, *op. cit.*, pp. 44, 256.

¹⁰⁶ Rupp, *History of Lancaster and York Counties* (Lancaster, 1845), pp. 566, 567.

miles from shore: "This comes from the Indians setting fire, at this time of the year to the woods and thickets in order to hunt." ¹⁰⁷

Fires set by the Indians in order to bring about conditions favorable to their hunting of herbivorous wild animals, such as deer and elk, had effects which differed according to local conditions. In some place they produced open, grassy areas, or "barrens," as was intended; but they are also held responsible for those open forests, free of undergrowth, which so impressed early writers about Virginia and Maryland, who saw them in their original state: "The woods [i. e., of Maryland in 1635] for the most part are free from underwood, so that a man may travel on horseback, almost any-where, or hunt for his recreation." ¹⁰⁸

This aspect of the primeval forests of Virginia is ascribed by Dr. Bruce partly to Indian fire-hunting: "Freedom from undergrowth was one of the most notable features of the primeval forest of Virginia. In the beginning the absence of undergrowth was partially attributable to the Indian custom of burning the leaves with a view to capturing whole herds of deer by surrounding them with a belt of fire through which it was difficult for them to escape. It was by similar conflagrations that the prairies of the West were denuded." ¹⁰⁹

Dr. Bruce maintains that, the "annual frings of the Indians did not make any impression upon its [Virginia's] vast forests beyond the destruction of many of the smaller trees," since the soil of the colony "was so full of moisture on account of its proximity to the ocean, and so finely adapted to certain forms of vegetable life." ¹¹⁰ With all respect due to Dr. Bruce, this statement seems to this author to be rather too sweeping. He cannot imagine these open forests and groves outside of the "tide-water" region of Chesapeake Bay, and there only on the flats, rich lands of low elevation, where, in the beginning, most of the Indian towns were situated.

In 17th century Maryland, and no doubt in Virginia as well, the sight of recently burnt woods in the wilderness was taken as a sign that Indians had lately visited the place. In a letter, dated May 19, 1698, the Hon. John Addison, of Prince George's Co., writing to Governor Nicholson, gives him the latest news about the rangers in that county: "Six rangers are at the head of the Eastern Branch [Anacostia Creek] at the plantation where James Lile was killed at the mouth of Goose Creek [Tiber Creek, D. C.; now filled in]. They range out there of each company weekly by terms. Captain Richard Owen has been up at the Sugarloaf mountain on this side, his last time out, *but saw no Indians, though the woods there were newly burned.*" ¹¹¹

¹⁰⁷ *Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, West New Jersey, and Delaware* edited by Albert Cook Myers, Scribner's (New York, 1912), p. 15.

¹⁰⁸ *Narratives of Early Maryland* (New York, 1910), p. 79.

¹⁰⁹ Question: is this theory accepted by geologists?

¹¹⁰ Bruce, *Economic History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century*, pp. 85, 86.

¹¹¹ *Calendar of State Papers: America and West Indies, 1697-1698* (London,

Perhaps, the destruction of the woods within the area of the barrens was less complete at their southern end, on the Potomac, than at their northern end, on the Susquehanna. Granted that Indians were responsible for the Barrens, it is a pretty good guess that those Indians were Susquehannocks. If so, they probably began by burning out the woods nearest to home, and worked southwards over the sources of the intervening rivers, toward the Potomac until they had control over a vast area almost bare of timber. At any rate, the theory that an immense and continuous forest, a "forest primeval" lay in their way, and was utterly destroyed, is untenable. We have it on good authority that a large part of the York Barrens was originally very poor land, which, to be sure, in the course of time, has been much improved. We shall presently see how adjacent parts of what is now Harford Co., parts once occupied by the Barrens, once had a very low rating as arable land. Within these bounds there may have lain, at one time, great stretches of country covered with scrub pines, the inferior sort of oaks, sassafras, locust saplings and what not, devastated in places by fires which were due to natural causes. Did such stretches of country near home suggest to the Indians the development of their "Great Park"?

Writing of several townships within the compass of the York Barrens, Rupp informs us that the soil of Fawn Township is gravel, of inferior quality, really poor, on which account this township "legitimately" formed a part of the Barrens. That of Peach Bottom was little better, being "gravel, slate, and rather poor." Of Chanceford he says "soil generally poor"; of Lower Chanceford, "soil gravelly and poor."¹¹²

The practice of burning the woods seems to have been rife among the planters of Virginia and Maryland in colonial times, and may have been taken over from the Indians. The object in either case appears to have been the development of grazing grounds, whether for wild creatures or for domestic animals.

Writing in 1728, Col. William Byrd, of Westover, tells how the planters of Virginia (he calls them "the Inhabitants") were accustomed to burn the woods every year. He implies that timber trees were not destroyed thereby; whereas, in the wilderness, wherever a forest fire passed, the devastation which is caused was overwhelming, because of the kindling material furnished by the age-old accumulation of leaves, etc.¹¹³

1905), p. 253. (Collection 518, No. IX.) See also *Md. Hist. Mag.*, II, 169: Henry F. Thompson quotes Col. Addison's letter, without telling where he saw it. This appears to be a true copy. He has: "but met with no Indians; only the woods there were newly burned [i. e., near Sugar Loaf Mountain]."

¹¹² Rupp, *op. cit.*, pp. 725, 727.

¹¹³ Wm. K. Boyd (ed.), *The (Secret) History of the Dividing Line* (1929), p. 228. Byrd mentions a thicket in the wilderness, fully two miles in breadth, which was crossed by him and his party. Locust and hickory saplings grew in it, but no great trees even near it; yet the soil appeared to be rich. He attributes this phenomenon to fire (p. 231). Large areas in the wilderness, resembling barrens, were said to have been devastated by caterpillars, and were called "poisoned fields" (p. 160).

And now for Maryland. In the *Maryland Journal* June 19, 1780, James Long advertised for sale a tract of land called "Henry and Elizabeth," situated in Frederick Co., on Bennett's Creek,¹¹⁴ containing 750 acres. The land is described as abounding with hickories and white oaks. There follows information as significant for Maryland as Colonel Byrd's remark for Virginia: "This tract consists principally of that species of land commonly distinguished as sapling land, though it is intermixed with a sufficient quantity of timber to answer the necessary demands of a plantation. From the flourishing condition of the woods, they appear to have been much injured in former times by the pernicious practice of setting them on fire, which is, in great part, discontinued."

The man who composed this advertisement could not have had Indians in mind, when he spoke of the "pernicious practice" of setting the woods afire. It was then already at least half a century since Indians might deliberately have gone about setting fire to the woods in those parts; and it is affirmed that, while largely abandoned, the practice continued. This outrageous custom, while it undoubtedly came to be looked upon with disapproval and was eventually abandoned in those more eastern parts of Western Maryland where it was first taken up by white settlers, probably from the Indians, spread, it would seem, to the farthest western corners of the state, where it was in vogue early in the 19th century in what is now Garrett Co. There, as we are credibly informed by an observant traveler, Uriah Brown, the inhabitants set fire to the mountains every two or three years, with the most dismal and distressing results.¹¹⁵

Two contemporary observers, as we have already noted, attributed the Barrens to thinness or sterility of soil, and if they knew (as they well may have known) that the "Blame" for this situation was more or less chargeable to the Indians, they said nothing about it in such writings of theirs as we have cited. But the Indian theory, even if not exactly proved, has much to be said in its favor, and in the absence of any other theory, I believe that it may be, tentatively, accepted. The Barrens cannot be explained solely on geological grounds.

¹¹⁴ Bennett's Creek empties into the Monocacy on its eastern side, about 1 mile above the northwestern corner of Sugar Loaf mountain. The upper part of the valley of this stream lies in Montgomery Co., the lower part in Frederick Co. I believe this valley, in part at least, fell within the area of the sapling lands, which, as we have seen, covered a vast extent of country in the western hundreds of Montgomery County.

¹¹⁵ "Uriah Brown's Journal," *Md. Hist Mag.*, X, 273-274. Brown, a practical and observant man, was of the opinion that, but for this pernicious practice, the mountains, in spite of the thinness of their soil, would have produced fine merchantable timber. I think this is open to question, but must leave the matter to the professional forester.

REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

The Light of Distant Skies, 1760-1835. By JAMES T. FLEXNER. New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1954. xiii, 306 pp. \$10.

James Thomas Flexner's book, *The Light of Distant Skies* is a continuation of early history of American art begun with his book *The First Flowers of Our Wilderness*. The book starts with the generation of Copley, West, and Stuart, a trio of artists of such stature that they were capable of competing on equal terms with the best of European artists.

These men stand at the beginning of a period in which the tradition of the limner is dying out, though Flexner at times slows down the pace of his main argument with a nostalgic effort to keep it alive; and the competently trained professional artist is appearing.

Though the material dealing with this phase of American art is competently treated, it is not new. The real interest of the book lies, for this reader, in Flexner's analysis of the following generation consisting of such men as Trumbull, Vanderlyn, Morse, and Allston. It is this that raises the book above the level of just another history of American art.

These artists were the men, who having received European training and recognition abroad, condescended to return to America with the high minded purpose of leading their countrymen out of their aesthetic wilderness. Unfortunately, while they were endowed with great abilities, they were all gentlemen of aristocratic learnings, who had exaggerated ideas of their own worth and despised the provincialism of democratic America. All of them protested against painting what America wanted, preferring to paint in the "grand manner" or not at all. Eventually they ended up as presidents of academies, centers of adoring groups of aesthetes, or stopped painting entirely.

With them, the romantic myth of the "Genius Rejected" reached American shores. Yet in looking back, these artists with their European affectations and idle pretensions, who talked instead of painting, enjoyed a higher reputation in their own lifetime than they ever have since. Though they might have brought much to America, they succeeded only in introducing an affectation that has been the curse of much later American art.

It is in bringing forth the significance of this crucial generation in American art that Flexner has succeeded in not only clarifying the past, but also in posing a warning for the future.

CHRISTOPHER GRAY

The Johns Hopkins University

The Revolutionary War. By JAMES STREET. New York: Dial Press, 1954.
180 pages. \$3.

The contrast between this book on the American Revolution and volumes on the same subject by such well known scholars as Trevelyan, Van Tyne and Miller, is striking. The late Mr. Street has written what he calls a "de-mythed account of how the thirteen colonies turned a world upside down." The author, scorning scholarly, pedantic writing for a breezy, informal style, emphasizes the human frailties of many of the founding fathers.

Most readers will find this book both entertaining and enlightening, but members of patriotic societies may be shocked at such irreverencies as: "The first miracle is that we got together. The second miracle is that we stayed together. The third miracle is that we still are together." John Adams "was Sam Adams' cousin. But there was no resemblance. They had nothing in common except their names and Cousin John loathed Cousin Sam." "Germans were very numerous; in fact so numerous that German almost became our national language." Regarding Alexander Hamilton: "There is no big city, no state to honor his name; but there's a good watch."

Mr. Street's thesis is that we should not have won the war but we did because England blundered even more than we; because the colonies had a handful of truly great leaders eager to revolt; because France was on our side with money, soldiers, and ships; and because of the fact that for the first time in modern history England fought without an ally. "It was a hit and miss war, and, in the clinches, we hit and England missed."

The author packs a lot of drama and history into 180 pages. The content of the book is controversial and Mr. Street's style both readable and quotable.

JOSEPH E. HOSKINS

Pennsylvania State University

The Federalism of James A. Bayard. By MORTON BORDEN. New York:
Columbia, 1955. i, 256 pp. \$4.

James A. Bayard (1767-1815) was Delaware's best-known Federalist. In the House of Representatives he played an important part in determining that Jefferson would become President in the disputed election of 1800. In the Senate he opposed war with England and was a member of the peace delegation sent to Europe to end it. He followed an independent course in Congress and did not always obey party dictates.

Probably he would have risen to new heights if he had not died shortly after his return from Ghent. "Upon his decease in 1815," the author

observed, "America lost not a man of great brilliance, the rare exception who rises above the clouds of mediocrity to touch the star of genius, but a man of tact and common sense who had served his country well."

This biography adds much to our knowledge of Delaware politics at the end of the 18th century and is of some national significance. It is to be regretted that the footnotes are not placed at the bottom of the page and that the Bayard family papers were not consulted. The author has carefully searched many manuscript collections and presents his findings in an interesting way.

HAROLD HANCOCK

Otterbein College

The Washington Papers. Edited by SAUL K. PADOVER. New York: Harper, 1955. 430 pp. \$5.

This is the third one-volume anthology edited by Professor Saul K. Padover of the New School For Social Research. The high standards of the Jefferson and Madison compilations, however, are not repeated in the present work. To be sure, all three books serve useful purposes, for at our fingertips is available the gist of their writings, the quintessence of their characters and careers, ideas, and influences. As such, they make valuable adjuncts to biographical readings.

After a brief but provocative introduction, Professor Padover divides *The Washington Papers* under three headings labeled "Personal," "Political," and "Maxims, Mottos, Brief Opinions." These divisions, however, are not fast and true. For the "Personal" section contains several extracts which deal more with political fact and opinion; the "Political" section contains material on agriculture and education; the final section is a meaningless collection of brief quotations arranged in alphabetical order. Thus Professor Padover has extracts on "Agriculture" and "America" but nothing on aliens; extracts on "Charity" and "Citizens" but nothing on chastity; extracts on "Generals," "Germans," "Gestures," and "Gifts," but nothing on gentility, geometry, Gibraltar, or gipsies. This last part, then, is without rhyme or reason.

Despite the poor arrangement, there is a wealth of enjoyable reading to be found in this collection. The casual reader can dip in at any page and be amply rewarded. Washington's comments on Jefferson and Hamilton as well as Thomas Paine, his farewell orders to the armies and his first address to Congress, his voyage to the Ohio in 1754 and his triumphant trip to New York in 1789, the "naked army" he led in the Revolutionary War and the new nation he guided as President—these are typical samplings of the contents.

A one volume edition of *The Washington Papers* has been badly needed. Now a competent one volume biography would be most welcome.

MORTON BORDEN

Ohio State University

The Colonial Records of South Carolina: The Journal of the Commons House of Assembly, 1742-1744. Edited by J. H. EASTERBY. Columbia: South Carolina Archives Dept., 1954. xi, 607 pp. \$12.50.

The program of the South Carolina Archives Commission to preserve for posterity their rich collection of colonial public records is one that will be commended by all persons interested in this period. Because of their importance to colonial researchers, the journals of the legislative branch are being published first. This series will be followed by the publication of the journals of the Council, documents on file in the British Public Record Office, and continued "until all the more significant documents have been printed."

In the series of the Commons House Journals the general plan has been to cover in a volume the proceedings of one or more General Assemblies. In the journal of the period from September 14, 1742 to May 25, 1745, the editor, to avoid a volume of awkward size, has presented the journal in two parts; the first covering the proceedings from September 14, 1742, to adjournment on January 27, 1744, and the second part (yet to be published) will cover from February 20, 1744, to adjournment May 25, 1745.

The text of this volume was copied from the original manuscripts in the custody of the South Carolina Archives Department. These sessions of the Commons House of Assembly are concerned with a variety of subject matter. Of immediate concern was the settlement of the public debt incurred by an expedition into Georgia and the necessity of defense preparations as an outpost of the British Empire, about to be drawn into the War of the Austrian Succession. Internal controversy between the Commons House and the Council over the election of a public treasurer is also revealed, as well as friction over defense and taxation plans.

Mr. Easterby, a competent scholar in his own right, is performing an outstanding service in bringing to scholars and those with a general interest in the colonial period, the South Carolina Records. These volumes are a significant addition to our colonial documentary materials. An extensive index is appended and is of incalculable value in the use of the journals.

SUZANNE LOWITT

*Mitchell College
New London, Conn.*

Some Account of the Pennsylvania Hospital. By BENJAMIN FRANKLIN; introduction to facsimile edition by I. BERNARD COHEN. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1954. xxx, 40 pp. \$3.25.

For some strange reason this important work has never been included in an edition of Franklin's collected writings. Mr. Cohen has done the

historical (as well as the medical) world an invaluable service in presenting in facsimile one of the first—and presumably most effective—American fund-raising brochures. Promoters of good causes today would learn much from a study of Franklin's technique. His method was simple. With a minimum of explanatory and connective narrative, Franklin presented to the public a collection of official documents relating to the Hospital's founding and the first two years of its operation, one of the most interesting of which is a table listing the number of patients treated and the number cured, "relieved," incurable, "taken away by their friends," or dead. Fortunately, the "cured" outnumbered the "dead" six to one, a record of which an 18th century hospital could well boast.

Mr. Cohen's excellent introduction not only describes Franklin as a promoter of worthy projects, but also shows how Cotton Mather influenced Franklin's humanitarian thinking.

GLENN WEAVER

Connecticut College

George Mercer Papers Relating to the Ohio Company of Virginia. Edited by LOIS MULKEARN. Univ. of Pittsburgh Press, 1954. 731 pp. \$10.

Historians will welcome this publication of another large assortment of Ohio Company documents. These Mercer Papers are principally taken from the Darlington Memorial Library, although there is included a significant sixty-two page pamphlet and notes from the collections of the New-York Historical Society, entitled "The Case of the Ohio Company, Extracted from Original Papers." The book is divided into two parts: these company papers of 392 pages and an exhaustive commentary, detailed annotations, and a sizeable bibliography of 310 pages.

The life of the Ohio Company lasted about twenty-four years, 1747-1771. Although it did not realize in that time the dream of its organizers, who were expected to make fortunes from the land and trade, its history is valuable for a close view of colonial administration. Because the future of the company was interwoven with land policy, Indian relations, western boundaries, colonization, and British and American politics, its history unfolds in story book fashion the major events of our pre-Revolutionary struggle for self-government.

The author has done a tremendous amount of detailed work in editing these papers and has consulted most of the available materials. Her bibliography omits, however, the recently edited *Robert Dinwiddie Correspondence* by Louis Knott Koontz (film, University of California Press, 1951), his life of Robert Dinwiddie, and the important monograph by Thomas P. Abernethy. Unfortunately, too, the author does not evaluate these papers in the light of the work of Professors Gipson and Alvord and that of Professor Kenneth P. Bailey who has published two significant

volumes on the Ohio Company and one on Thomas Cresap. Professor Bailey, it should be noted, has used closely related materials, although from Mercer papers at the Library of Congress and the Public Record Office. The reader will be grateful for the 818 footnotes which contain so much valuable and incidental information. Perhaps, this might have been more attractively presented in the commentary. With these exceptions, which are relatively minor when one considers the enormous contribution that Miss Mulkearn has made, the book is a most important source collection and a guide for the identification of many third and fourth level western figures. The University of Pittsburgh is to be congratulated on publishing such a costly and attractive volume.

JOHN A. SCHUTZ

Whittier College

Glimpse of Glory, George Mason of Gunston Hall. By MARIAN BUCKLEY COX. Richmond: Garrett & Massie, 1954. xvii, 254 pp. \$4.

This is an age in historical writing of the "discovery" of men whose contributions to American life are only smaller than the greatest, acknowledged patriots. Books and articles pour from the presses, and thoughtful readers begin to recognize that our patriots lived in a world of men, many of whom are worthy in their own rights. Strangely, George Mason has been neglected by the professional historian. Until the past winter we could turn only to such sources as Kate Mason Rowland's volumes, published in 1898, or the *Dictionary of American Biography* for details about Mason. Now Mrs. Thomas Riggs Cox, an experienced writer though not a trained historian, has written a pleasant, readable biography of the Virginia statesman, who wrote Virginia's Declaration of Rights and much of the state's Constitution, opposed slavery, and was a strong advocate of the Federal Bill of Rights. She breathes life into the story of Mason, his family and associates—not hesitating to use such devices as imagined conversations and a few imaginary incidents. Gunston Hall, a Buckland masterpiece, is a busy center of activity.

Mrs. Cox will be satisfied, we confidently predict, if she attracts many who might not read an academic study and if thereby they learn of Mason and his house, now managed as a memorial to him by the National Society of Colonial Dames. The volume is well printed, and the drawings by Elmo Jones add to its attractiveness.

F. S.

Brokenburn: The Journal of Kate Stone, 1861-1868. Edited by JOHN Q. ANDERSON. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State Univ. Press, 1955. xxii, 400 pp. \$4.95.

Mrs. Henry Bry Holmes (Kate Stone Holmes) died at the age of 66 in Tallulah, Louisiana, perhaps without knowing that she had, some 45 years before, written one of the minor classics of the war years. Now with the able cooperation of Prof. John Q. Anderson of Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College, Kate Stone's diary appears for a larger public.

Kate may be taken as representative of the younger generation on a large plantation in the rich floodplain of the Mississippi River. She was one of the seven children of Mrs. William Patrick Stone, a widow who had acquired the 1,200 acres of Brokenburn and 150 slaves to run it. Kate had an intuitive sense of the greatness of coming events and with the decision of her 21-year-old brother William to be "off to the wars," May 15, 1861, she begins her journal. William survived the war but two other brothers, Coleman and Walter died in the Confederate service before they had come to manhood. The rest of the family suffered too; by June 25 she is writing: "well we have seen at last what we have been looking for for weeks—the Yankee gunboats descending the river." Brokenburn had not long to wait its fate; on March 22, 1863 Kate writes: "Two Yankees came out Friday and carried off my horse Wonka." By the end of the month the Stones fled some miles inland, later to retreat further and further from war-torn scenes until by July Kate is recording her diary from "a dark corner of the far off County of Lamar" in Texas, nearly 300 miles from her beloved Brokenburn.

Kate Stone was a "true Southerner," who in the heat of events could say: "All honor to J. Wilkes Booth, who has rid the world of a tyrant," but who after copying her journal in 1900 wrote: "I have never regretted the freeing of the Negroes. The great load of accountability was lifted, and we could save our souls alive."

It would be tempting to quote further, beyond the limits of a short review; perhaps to readers of the *Magazine*, the following entry, made October 2, 1862, will appeal most:

There is great disappointment over Maryland. It was thought there would be a great uprising of the people as soon as the Stars and Bars should wave across the Potomac, but nothing of the kind. . . . Let the Old Bay State go, if her people had rather be slaves in the Union than masters in the Confederacy.

ROGER THOMAS

Hall of Records, Annapolis

History of the Maryland Hunt Cup: 1894-1954. By JOHN E. ROSELL, JR. Baltimore: The Sporting Press, 1954. x, 174 pp.

In this, the first published record since Stuart Rose's excellent *The Maryland Hunt Cup*, which appeared in 1931, Colonel Rossell brings up to date the story of Maryland's, and America's, timber classic. The author reviews briefly the origin and early history of the race, so ably chronicled by Mr. Rose, but his account of the meetings from 1932 to 1954 is detailed, accurate, and above all, readable. In addition to a description of each race, there are chapters on the course, the horses, and the present and probable future status of timber racing, as well as statistical tables for the twenty-three year period. Riders are not neglected, but are not, as in the earlier work, accorded a chapter. The fence by fence description of the present course, however, is a valuable feature.

Through the sixty year history of one race, Colonel Rossell has portrayed the evolution of timber racing from the pounding matches of our forebears to the classics of today. His graphic narrative is enhanced by the lively illustrations of Paul Brown. Together, they should convey, even to the uninitiated, some of the thrill of cross country racing. To followers of the sport, the volume will be a cherished record of some of the most memorable April afternoons in racing history.

W. BIRD TERWILLIGER

The Papers of Thomas Jefferson. (Vol. 9, Nov., 1785-June, 1786; Vol. 10, June-Dec., 1786.) Edited by JULIAN P. BOYD. Princeton Univ. Press, 1954. xxix, 669; xxx, 654 pp. Each, \$10.

Two more handsome volumes of *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson* appeared in 1954. Each volume enlarges our knowledge of Jefferson and his wide-ranging interests while he was Minister to France. In addition to diplomatic affairs, there are letters on the arts, sciences, and literature—and the "head and heart" letter to Maria Cosway (X, 443 ff.).

While the larger values of the Jefferson papers project are noted and justly praised, the Maryland reader should not overlook the letters of special interest to his state. A letter to the governors of Maryland and Virginia (IX, 599-600) and an exchange of letters with Paul Bentalou (X, 204-205, 296) are examples. There are as well numerous letters to and from William Carmichael, of Queen Anne's Co., representative of the United States at Madrid (1782-1794), whose own papers, it is to be hoped, may yet be discovered.

F. S.

The American Bibliography of Charles Evans, Volume 13, 1799-1800.

By CLIFFORD K. SHIPTON. Worcester: American Antiquarian Society, 1955. xiii, 349 pp. \$25.

With this volume the splendid plan of the late Charles Evans for a chronological bibliography of American imprints from 1639 to 1800 becomes a reality. The completion of this basic research tool reflects great credit both on the sponsoring Society and Mr. Shipton. A supplement and master index volume can be looked for in the future.

Harbor, 1854-1955, A Century of Photographs of the Port of Baltimore.

Baltimore: Peale Museum, 1955. 24 pp.

A fine collection of early photographs of Baltimore harbor is the feature of this attractive pamphlet recently issued by the Peale Museum. Many of the pictures have the quality of making the viewer feel a part of a long ago maritime scene. Later photographs illustrate the growing port to the present year.

OTHER BOOKS RECEIVED

History of the Engineers Club of Baltimore, 1905-1955. By ALFRED M. QUICK and THOMSON KING. [Baltimore, 1955.] 59 pp.

Writings on American History, 1950. Compiled by JAMES R. MASTERSON and FOREST L. WILLIAMS. Washington, 1955. xiii, 609 pp.

A National Program for the Publication of Historical Documents. A Report to the President by the National Historical Publications Commission. Washington, 1954. viii, 106 pp.

NOTES AND QUERIES

THE "AUTOBIOGRAPHY" OF LUTHER MARTIN

The name of Luther Martin (ca. 1748-1826), long the Attorney-General of Maryland and leader of the Bar, is well-known but little information concerning his life and career is available. A biography is now in preparation by Paul S. Clarkson and R. Samuel Jett. We are indebted to Mr. Clarkson who called attention to the "autobiography" and the sequence of events which lead to it.

Both of Martin's daughters—he had no sons—died young as had their mother,¹ and the tragedies must have affected Martin's later behavior. Maria married Lawrence Keene, U. S. N., separated from him and died insane.² Eleanora, often called Ellen, married Richard Raynal Keene (unrelated to Lawrence) against her father's will and died in 1807 when a son was born.³ The child is supposed to have died before reaching maturity. The marriage of Eleanora brought about a pamphlet "war" between Martin and Keene.⁴ In defense against an insinuation that Martin's early years included some unsavory chapters, he printed the account of his life which is reproduced below.⁵ Apparently the insinuations against Martin lacked foundation; at least nothing further is heard of them. Out of the unfortunate personal affair came the "autobiography"—which might not otherwise have been written—of an important Maryland and national figure.

. . . Hence it is that I feel myself justified in giving to the public a succinct history of the earlier part of my life and shall flatter myself, that, should I be therein, in some degree an egotist, I shall notwithstanding receive their indulgence.

Two brothers of that family, from which I derive my name, were among the first settlers in East-Jersey. They came immediately, I believe, from Piscataqua in New-England, with the ancestors of the Dunns, the Dunhams, the Fitz Randolphs, the Mannings, the Bonhams, and other

¹ Maria Cresap Martin died Nov. 2, 1796; *Federal Gazette*, Nov. 3.

² Maria Martin was married on April 8, 1808; *Federal Gazette*, April 13.

³ Eleanora Martin was married on Jan. 27, 1802. She died Nov. 16, 1807; *Federal Gazette*, Nov. 21.

⁴ Martin, *Modern Gratitude, in Five Numbers: Addressed to Richard Raynal Keene, Esq. Concerning A Family Marriage* (Baltimore, 1802). Keene, *A Letter from Richard Raynal Keene, to Luther Martin, Esq. Attorney-General of Maryland; upon the subject of his 'Modern Gratitude'* (Baltimore, 1802). Bristol 121 and 114.

⁵ *Modern Gratitude*, pp. 131-153.

old and respectable families in that state. They fixed on that part of the country adjoining to the Raritan, on the east of New-Brunswick, and called the township Piscataqua, after the name of the place, which they had left. My ancestors were natives of England; and though I honour the worthy and good of every clime, and am as free from nationality as I think any man ought to be, yet I can truly say I know not a nation on the habitable globe, to be descended from natives of which would give my heart superior pleasure.

That part of the Jerseys, was at the time, of which I am speaking, to a great degree, an uncultivated wilderness, inhabited by its copper-coloured aborigines, yet these first settlers had to build their own huts—to hunt the game of the forest, or ensnare the scaly tenants of the water, for their food; they had to conquer those forests by the toil of their limbs, and by the sweat of their brows to compel the earth to yield to them its stores; for to them the savages of the wilderness did not stretch forth the hand of hospitality, to them they pointed not the openings of their wigwams; to them the savages offered not the flesh of the deer or the bear, the racoon or the opossum, to assuage their hunger, nor the skins of those animals on which they might repose their wearied limbs. In fine, those savages of the wilderness, notwithstanding all that unbounded hospitality and philanthropy of which modern philosophers, and a modern president [Jefferson], have discovered they once were possessed, in so superior a degree, as to shame even the most civilized and polished professors of Christianity, never once formed an idea of introducing those their white-coloured, emigrant neighbours, into their families, and inviting them to participate in all the rights and benefits of children.

I will not say, that it may not be possible, this strange and unheard of unkindness and inhospitality, thus by them experienced, might arise from the circumstance, that these settlers happened not to be "fugitives from distress."

I am an American born, of the fourth or fifth generation. My ancestors were, and most of their descendants have been, of that class or "sect," of people known as agriculturists or cultivators of the earth, and therefore, as Jefferson tells us, have had the happiness of being in the number of "God's chosen people, if ever he had any," of which that sage philosopher seems to entertain as great doubts, as I sometimes am inclined to have, notwithstanding his high authority, of Indian hospitality.

Those two of my name, who first came to that part of East-Jersey, obtained grants for lands highly valuable and to a very considerable extent, which is now broken into small farms—for they and their descendants have been among those not the least distinguished for their "conscientious desire to direct their energies to the multiplication of the human race and not to its destruction."⁶

For this conscientious discharge of their duty, they needed not the

⁶ See the President's Message to the last Congress.—L. M.'s footnote.

opinions, the advice nor the exhortation of a sceptical philosopher, if any such philosophers were known to them; to those, whose family motto⁷ was selected from the sacred code, the command of their God, particularly when that command was accompanied with a blessing, was sufficient.⁸ Numerous yet are the persons who bear my name in New-Jersey, to almost all of whom, I am more or less distantly, related, and the descendants from the same family are to be found from the Hudson on the east to the Spanish dominions on the west; in the states New-York, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North-Carolina, Georgia, Kentucky, Tennessee, and the Territory north-west of the Ohio.

I was the third of nine children all of which arrived to years of maturity, and all of whom, except one, are yet living. From the moment I could walk until I was twelve years of age, my time was employed, except what was devoted to the acquisition of science, in some manner or other, useful to the family; when too young for any thing else, I rocked the cradle of a brother or sister that was younger.

In my thirteenth year, and in the month of August [1761], I was sent to Princeton College, where I entered the grammar school. I there began the first Rudiments of the Latin language. In September, five years next after, I received the honours of the college; during which period I also studied the Hebrew language, made myself a tolerable master of the French, and among many other literary pursuits, found time fully to investigate, that most important of all questions, the truth and the divine origin of the Christian Religion.

At Princeton, I early formed an acquaintance with the honourable William Patterson, of New-Brunswick, who has with so much credit to himself, and to his constituents, filled so many of the most important offices a discerning public hath bestowed upon him.⁹

He and myself are natives of the same state—he is acquainted with my family, and has well known several of my relations.

It was there we first formed for each other that friendship and esteem, which have continued unimpaired to the present time.

The amiable, the worthy, the brave John McPherson, Esq. who fell with General Montgomery, in the cause of his country, before the walls of Quebec, and myself trode together the flowery paths of science from the grammar school through all the classes of the college:—we graduated together;—about the same age,—our pursuits were the same:—few brothers were ever bound together by stronger bands of affection.

Among those, on whom memory most delights to dwell, was also the worthy and esteemed son of Capt. Thomas Bowden, he was then an

⁷ "Iaitum Sapientiae est Timor Deis"—"The fear of God is the beginning of wisdom."—L. M.'s footnote.

⁸ "And God blessed them, and God said unto them, be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth." Genesis, chap. 1st, verse 28th.—L. M.'s footnote.

⁹ William Paterson (1745-1806), Princeton, 1763, attorney-general of New Jersey, Congressman, Senator, Governor, and Justice of the Supreme Court.

ensign in the British army; but strongly impressed with the great truths of Christianity, on his return to Europe, he gave up his commission, and having there completed his education, took holy orders, became the chaplain of Lord Milton, and is now the respectable Rev. Mr. Bowden of Connecticut.

Among those who, were my class-mates and graduated with me, were the late Chief Justice of the United States, the honourable Oliver Ellsworth, The Rev. Mr. [John] Bacon, now one of the members of congress for Massachusetts.—The Rev. Mr. Balch, of the Territory North-West of the Ohio.—Daniel C. Clymer, Esq. of Reading, Pennsylvania.—Waightstill Avery, Esq. of North-Carolina and David Howell, Esq. of Rhode-Island.

Among those, with whom I formed an acquaintance while at college, and who were not in the number of my classmates I can name the Rev. Mr. Story of Marblehead.—Col. [Nathaniel] Ramsey of the city of Baltimore—his brother Doctor [David] Ramsey of South-Carolina—J[oseph] Haberman, Esq. late Post-Master-General.—The Rev. Mr. Gantt of George-Town.—Pierpoint Edwards, Esq. of New-Haven and the Right Rev. Bishop [Thomas J.] Clagett of Maryland, whose friendship and esteem I also am well known to possess in no small degree.

To any, or to all of these, whose name I have mentioned, and who are now living, I cheerfully refer those, who wish to know what was my character and conduct while a student at that college—either as to the friendliness of my disposition, the correctness of my manners,—my assiduity in my studies, or as to my literary attainments.

From my parents I received a sound mind, and a good constitution. They with unceasing tenderness and zeal laboured to impress me with principles of manly independence—with a spirit of kindness and generosity towards my fellow-creatures, and with reverential love and fear of my God. And as the best security for my performance of my duty in all situations, in which I might be placed in life, they deeply impressed on my young mind the sacred truths of the Christian Religion, the belief of which, though at that time principally owing to education, has since been riveted by the fullest conviction, grounded on a thorough and dispassionate enquiry; those sacred truths, which, though too often departed from in my practice, have ever remained too deeply engraven on my heart to be effaced by the hand of infidelity—and the belief of which is my boast.

These, with a liberal education, were all the patrimony they could bestow upon me;—a patrimony, for which my heart bears towards them a more grateful remembrance, than had they bestowed upon me the gold of Peru or the gems of Golconda.

Through the fond partiality of my paternal grandfather, I was the owner of a small tract of land on South-River, not far from New-Brunswick—as soon as the laws of my country gave me the power of disposition, I conveyed it to my two elder brothers, as a trifling compensation for the

additional toil they had experienced, in contributing to the support of a family, the expences of which had been increased by reason of my education.

When I graduated [1766] at Princeton college, I wanted near five months of being nineteen years of age. Having previously determined to be no longer a burthen to my family, than till my education was completed, and having fixed upon the profession of the law, against which I knew my father had prejudices,¹⁰ as the mean of my future support and respectability—I had deliberately formed my plan; in pursuance of which, the second day after the commencement, with no other resources, than my horse and the small remains of my pocket money, I left Princeton, accompanied, by young Bowden and a few others of my most intimate friends, as far as Philadelphia—from that place I proceeded with as much dispatch, as I could conveniently make, to the Reverend Mr. Hunt, who then resided in Cecil county, near Octorara Creek, to whom, having been informed he wanted an assistant in his school, I had procured letters of recommendation.

By him I was received with kindness and attention: but found to my disappointment, that a few days before my arrival he had supplied himself with an assistant.

It was there, I first contemplated an application for the Free-School of Queen Ann.¹¹ The last teacher¹² at that place had formerly lived in the neighbourhood of Mr. Hunt; the account of his death had been recently received, and a relation of his, whom I met at Mr. Hunt's, was preparing to visit the county, in order to settle the affairs of the deceased. I was strenuously urged not only by Mr. Hunt and some of his friends to whom he had introduced me, but also by the young gentleman who was going to Queen Ann, to accompany him, and, as it was understood the mastership of that school was still vacant, to apply for the appointment. They encouraged me to hope for success; of the probability of which I might be able to form some judgment before my companion could finish his business, and consequently should have it in my power to return with him, which they declared to be their wish, provided I met with difficulties they did not foresee. Being furnished with letters of recommendation, we sat out for Queen's-Town in Queen Ann's county; and there, in consequence of the letters, which had been given to me, and the friendship of my companion,¹³ who having visited the place, once or twice, while his relation lived there, had acquired a considerable

¹⁰ I had the happiness to see my father, not only reconciled to my having adopted that profession; but to have my youngest brother, Lenox, by him entrusted to me, when not more than ten years of age, to be brought up by me to the same profession.—L. M.'s footnote.

¹¹ The Queen Anne's School minute book (1723-1791), one MS volume, is in Md. Hist. Soc. Library.

¹² John Dehorty.

¹³ I think his name was Holmes.—L. M.'s footnote.

acquaintance—I soon became introduced not only to some of the trustees of the school, but also to several influential characters in the neighbourhood.

Among those of the trustees, to whom I was thus early introduced, were the late Col. Edward Tilghman, father of Edward Tilghman, Esq. of Philadelphia, Doctor [John] Smith of Queen's-Town—and the Rev. Mr. Neale,¹⁴ uncle of the Honourable Mr. [Joseph Hopper] Nicholson, one of the members of congress for this state, by all of whom, but particularly by the last, I was treated with great politeness and hospitality, and received from them such encouragement as determined me to await the result of the decision of a board of trustees, which, however, could not be had until the lapse of some time, in consequence of the sickness, or absence of some of the trustees, or vacancies in the board to be filled up, or by reason of some other cause not now particularly remembered. Whether I ever in the intermediate time waited on the Rev. Samuel Keene, at his own house, I cannot at this period with certainty say, but as he lived in the upper part of the county, remote from Queen's-Town, I am inclined to think that I never did. On the contrary, as far as my memory serves me, the first time I was introduced to that gentleman was by the Rev. Mr. Neale at his own house, a day or two before the board of trustees met.

Upon the meeting of the board I was, most certainly, preferred "to my competitor," to whom, however "experienced and approved a scholar" he might be, my superiority in that respect was by the trustees not doubted, two of those gentlemen, themselves of a liberal education and good scholars, had taken some pains to ascertain my fitness; and I took with me—from college a testimonial, from the highest authority, "that, in a class of thirty-five, I was the first scholar in the languages,—and second to none in the sciences." My youth was the only suggestion that was by any person made as an objection to the appointment. That the Reverend Mr. Keene, as one of the trustees, voted in my favour I never doubted, and in consequence thereof I have always felt for him all that respect due to a person who performs his duty. He was acting in the execution of a public trust. It was his duty to join in the first opportunity to fill the office; he was sacredly bound, if he thought me the most proper person for the appointment to vote for me and, if he thought I was not such, to vote in favour of my competitor. He was carrying into execution a trust reposed in him by the laws, and in which he could have no possible private interest, unless he was capable of taking a bribe. I was not benefited to the amount of a farthing out of the Rev. Mr. Keene's private fortune, or at his expense. Mr. Keene was not injured, to the amount of a farthing, by any benefit I was to receive. If I entered upon a "post of honour and profit" the "Doors thereto were not, I trust, broken open"

¹⁴ Probably Rev. Hugh Neill; see Frederic Emory, *History of Queen Anne's County* (Baltimore, 1950), p. 254.

for my entrance. I entered upon the appointment, if to receive a reward, to render services also to the full amount. I was appointed not from favouritism but from fitness. How contemptible then the pretence that I was under obligations to the reverend Mr. Keene, or bound to him by ties of gratitude, because he joind in filling an office, which he could not, without violating his duty to the public, have suffered to continue vacant, and, because filling up that office, he, having no motive of interest to act otherwise, preferred the candidate, whom he thought the most suitable for the appointment.

Is there the most distant analogy between the conduct of the Rev. Mr. Keene towards me and my conduct towards the Nephew? And if I may with justice, in his opinion, be charged with ingratitude towards his uncle, to what depth of damnation doth he thereby consent to sink himself.

I did "enter upon that establishment," which I had thus obtained; and remained therein until some time on the month of April, in the year one thousand seven hundred and seventy.

My object, in applying for that establishment was, that it might be to me a temporary support during the time, I should find necessary for the acquisition of a competent knowledge of the law.

The late Solomon Wright, Esq. father of the honourable Mr. [Robert] Wright of the senate of the United States, was at that time living in Queen-Anne.—He was a near connexion of some of those with whom I was early intimate, and whose children were under my care. I was soon introduced to him and became a frequent visitor in his family—from him I had occasionally the use of such books as I had time to read—by him and his very worthy lady I was during the whole time I remained in that county treated almost as a son; and by their children I was always received as a brother.

I continued in Queen-Anne near three years during which period I had availed myself of the vacations to make several journeys; at one time I visited my parents in East-Jersey, and on my return purchased in Philadelphia as many law-books as the then state of my funds would enable me to purchase—at another time I made an excursion to Somerset county, where was, at Back-Creck, an academy, in which were employed, as teachers, two most worthy, respectable young gentlemen, who had also been educated at Princeton college, and with whom I had there been most intimately acquainted.¹⁵

I have already stated that I was only nineteen years of age when I went to reside in Queen-Anne. The profits which I received as master of the free-school were the only funds I enjoyed—from which I had to defray the expences of cloathing, lodging, board, physics, books, travelling and every other incidental charge—I am not even yet, I was not then, nor have I ever been, an economist of any thing but time. No person

¹⁵ Messrs. Ephraim Bravard and Thomas Reese.—L. M.'s footnote.

will think it a matter of surprize, much less of disgrace, that I did not rigidly restrain my expenditures to my income or that a youth of my age, of a warm and generous heart, left so totally to his own guidance, should become indebted beyond his power of immediate payment. Under these circumstances, and with the concurrence of some of my friends, whose judgment was most relied on by me, I formed the determination to resign my appointment, which I then held, and devote one year solely to the further attainment of legal information; at the end of which time we calculated I should be able to enter upon the practice, after which it might soon be in my power to discharge the debt I had already incurred as well as that which must unavoidably be incurred in the intermediate time. With this view, and preparatory to my resignation, I made a second journey to Somerset county. I had fixed upon the neighbourhood of Back-Creek as the place of my residence, during the year, which I meant to devote to the study of the law. For this I had been actuated by two reasons—I thereby should be, for that period, in the enjoyment of the society of my two friends, whom I have mentioned, and whom I greatly esteemed—I have also, when first in that county, formed an intimate acquaintance with some of the most respectable families, particularly with Levin Gale, William Winder, and Samuel Wilson, Esquires, the last of whom lived on Back-Creek, within half a mile of the academy, which was erected on his plantation, and, who, having been brought up to the profession of the law, although he had ceased to practice, possessed an excellent law library, of which he had expressed a willingness that I should have the use, if I settled in that neighbourhood.

While on this visit, I made all the necessary arrangements for the execution of the plan I had formed, which also received the most perfect approbation of my friends in Somerset; and while there I contracted with a respectable farmer, who lived within a mile of Mr. Wilson, for one year's board commencing from the time, when I expected to have it in my power to return to that place.

My then journey to Somerset, and the objects I had in view, were well known to several of my most respectable friends and acquaintance, in Queen-Anne, and met with their decided concurrence.

I had to return to settle with the trustees for a balance due to me—to give in my resignation; and even to make such arrangements with those to whom I was indebted, as to them should be satisfactory, or, if that could not be effected, at least to look out for some one of my friends, who would be my bail in suits, which might be prosecuted against me.

I did return as was intended. Two creditors, whose debts, altogether amounted to no more than eleven pounds, eight shillings and ten pence, for I have the records before me, having heard, some vague report, that I was about to leave the county, and thinking it possible I might not return, had in the meantime taken out attachments against me to secure their debts. The conduct of those two creditors had created a momentary alarm,

and caused my other creditors to bring suits against me for their claims. Five writs were served upon me. I had no difficulty in procuring security for my appearance. I applied to Solomon Wright, Esq. who then practised in the county court, who was good enough to agree to be my counsel, if necessary, in those actions. He well knew all my views, and the moment my creditors were made acquainted therewith, not having a wish to distress me without benefit to themselves and conscious I would pay them as soon as it should be in my power, at the appearance court, in the month of March, in the year seventeen hundred and seventy, each of the suits were entered "struck off." But what was the amount of the whole aggregate of these debts thus sued for? The debts which had been thus contracted by a youth, in my situation, during a period of about three years?—This paltry sum, not exceeding two hundred dollars! a sum, ten fold, nay much more than ten fold, to the amount of which I have since that time bestowed upon those, with whom I have met during my journey through life, in similar situations, embarrassed, or distressed, without any other prospect of compensation, than the heart-felt delight of contributing to the happiness of my fellow creatures, and the most grateful of sentiments to the Author of all good for thus enabling me to be, in those instances, his representative on earth!

Thus then it was, that with the full knowledge of my creditors, and with their full approbation—without one obstacle to impede—and with their best wishes, and the best wishes of my other friends and acquaintance, in that county, for my future success, I left Queen-Anne, where I had thus resided nearly the three first years after—I had, without a pilot or guide, embarked on the untried ocean of life.

Here then for the present I take leave of Queen-Anne, the inhabitants of which county I ever remember with pleasure and affection.

I now proceed "to a more distant place," though not quite "on the borders of the Pocomoke, from my late abode;"—To which place, though I had found it "Expedient to retire" thereto, any person, who wished to have found me, might have arrived, without much difficulty, even in one day, in a day and a half, making it a mere journey of pleasure.¹⁶

I had been so short a time residing in Somerset that Messrs. Ramsay and Parker had not heard of my removal from Queen-Anne, when I received the following letter.

¹⁶ There can be no doubt, the expressions used by Mr. Keene in his letter, page 50, was intended basely to insinuate, what he must have known to be false, "that I wished to be concealed from the knowledge of my former acquaintance in Queen-Anne." Whereas nothing was of more publicity than the place to which I had removed,—It was on the same shore,—in the same province,—and where I might have been made answerable to the courts of justice, for any cause whatever, with nearly or quite as much ease, as if I had remained in Queen-Anne. But Mr. Keene expected his letter to be read by many, who know not the relative situation of places in Maryland;—and it is only for those who are ignorant of facts that he writes!—L. M.'s footnote.

" Colonel Henry's, May 21, 1770.

" Dear Sir,

" I last night received a very angry letter from Mr. Ramsay insinuating that I had intentionally disappointed the managers of that school and entered into other engagements, while a treaty with them was on foot.

" This insinuation I must say is unjust, for I cannot apprehend, that in any particular of that transaction I gave the least room for supposition that I would keep myself in waiting for them.—But the purpose of this billet is not to vindicate myself, but to apprise you, that the gentlemen, in consequence of a hint from me, have determined to apply to you, and I wish, if it may be convenient, and consistent with the plan of conduct you have laid down for yourself, that you could be prevailed upon to oblige them. Perhaps, if you undertake but for a few months, till the gentlemen can elsewhere supply themselves, it might be sufficient to prevent the difficulties they apprehend. Their own letter will, I suppose, inform you of particulars.

" I am, yours, &c

" EPHRAIM BRAVARD.

" Mr. Luther Martin,

" At Back-Creek."

This letter from Mr. B. was accompanied by the two letters following which were delivered me by a messenger, who had been sent with them from Virginia.

" Accomack county, Virginia, May 24, 1770.

" Sir,

" By the bearer you will receive a letter, in which you are informed that we are in want of a person to teach a Grammar School here.

" If you agree to take the offer as mentioned, please send an answer per bearer, directed to James Henry, who will be at Snow-Hill, next week, and if, when you are here, you choose your salary should be collected by one hand, it shall be done.

" I am, Sir,

" Your most humble servant

" GEORGE PARKER.¹⁷

¹⁷ Father of the present George Parker, Esq. of the Eastern Shore of Virginia.—L. M.'s footnote.

" Mr. Luther Martin,

" Queen-Ann's County, Maryland."

" Onancock, May 24, 1770.

" Sir,

" I am about to leave my school and having been disappointed of a successor from Princeton,—and also of Mr. Bravard, I am directed to make application to you by Mr. B. who supposes it might be agreeable to you to accept of my place. My wages are at the lowest par of exchange seventy-eight pounds Maryland money, all good pay, and not varied by the number of scholars;—the place agreeable and healthy. The school is situated in a small town, where the clerk's office is kept, and several other small advantages might be had in the study of the law, which I hear you are engaged in,—about five miles off the court house, where the courts are kept monthly. My time has been up two months, but, however, I would wait another month rather than the school should fall.—If you will please to accept you will be pleased with your situation, and if you do it immediately it will be to me a great favour, but if you will engage to come in a few weeks, you may depend on the place being secured.—We board as in Somerset school.

" Your very humble servant,

" And affectionate friend,

" DAVID RAMSAY.¹⁸

" Mr. Luther Martin,

" Queen-Ann's."

To Colonel Parker I returned the following answer:

" Sir,

" I have just received your's of May the 29th, and should have been glad it had suited me to comply with your desire; but as it appears to me incompatible with the plan of life I have determined to pursue, I must decline. I should be glad to inform you of any gentleman, who might have it both in his power and in his will, to oblige you, but I know of none.

" I remain your most obedient servant,

" LUTHER MARTIN.

¹⁸ Doctor Ramsay of Charlestown, South-Carolina, the author of the History of the American Revolution, brother to Colonel Ramsay of Baltimore.—L. M.'s foot-note.

"Mr. George Parker,
"Accomack County, Virginia."

My answer to Mr. Ramsay was as follows:

" Back-Creek, June 2, 1770.

" Sir,

" I have just received your's of the 29th May,—and in answer shall only observe, that as to the plan of the school—situation of the place, and salary, I should have no particular objection to either;—but having determined to devote this year to the study of the law, to qualify myself for the practice, and having accordingly engaged lodgings, I cannot prevail upon myself to comply with your request.—I should be sorry should my refusal be of any injury to the school, at the same time, I cannot but think, according to my present view of things, it would be imprudent were I to act otherwise.

" I remain, dear Sir,

" Your's affectionately,

" LUTHER MARTIN.

" Mr. David Ramsay,
" Onancock."

I thus decidedly refused accepting the charge of the Grammar School at Onancock, as being incompatible with the plan, I had formed for my future conduct;¹⁹ but it being found impracticable to obtain, at that time, any other teacher—a personal interview took place between Mr. Ramsay, some of the trustees and myself, in consequence of which, from their importunity—from their representations of the advantages I might there enjoy for the acquisition of legal knowledge—and their assurance that

¹⁹ The following is an extract of a letter addressed to me by Waightstill Avery, Esq. of North-Carolina, dated at Salisbury, the 15th, of August, 1770—"Yours, of May last, now lies on the table before me, for which I thank you before I forget it, and I rejoice to hear that you have fixed yourself in a respectable family for a year's necessary and profitable study, in prosecuting this I wish you laborious perseverance.

" There is an extraordinary good opening for a young lawyer in Edenton district, the most easterly part of this province, where, if your abilities for the practice of the law equal your abilities to acquire knowledge in the sciences, you might soon make an estate; there I should have pushed in, but durst not venture my health; I thought it too much like Somerset, and therefore came out here into the west of the province, in a high, hilly country three or four miles directly west of Edenton."

This may serve as further proof of the determination I had made of devoting that year solely to the study of the law; and I had so early as in May, written to my friend Mr. Avery consulting him on the place of my future practice.—L. M.'s footnote.

they would, as soon as possible, endeavour to find me a successor, I was prevailed on to remove from Somerset to Onancock and to take upon myself the temporary charge of the Grammar School at that place. The time of my thus removing was, I presume, about the last of June or the first of August, for in consequence of a few lines I had written, of which I kept no copy, giving information of my having at length consented to remove to Virginia, I received the following letter from the honourable John Leeds of Talbot county.

" Talbot, August 31, 1770.

" Dear Sir,

" I received your acceptable letter but have had no opportunity till now to write to you.—I am most sensibly affected with the kindness and affection you have shewn to the little stranger²⁰ so far removed from all his friends.—If ever it should be in my power to make you amends for the trouble you have taken, you may be sure it will be a pleasure to me. I am sorry to hear your business calls you so far from him, however we must submit to the loss he will have in your absence. Whenever you can, I hope you will shew him your usual tenderness.

" I am, dear Sir,

" With much esteem and friendship,

" Your obliged friend and

" Humble servant,

" JOHN LEEDS.²¹

" Mr. Martin."

I remained at Onancock superintendant of the Grammar School at that place until about the fourteenth day of October; when, by my letter book, I find the fall vacation having taken place, I left Accomack, called on my friends in Somerset and Talbot, and proceeded to Queen's-Town, to make arrangements for sending, from thence to Virginia, my trunks, which had till then remained in Queen-Anne. From that place I went on to Baltimore, and while there I waited upon Colonel Benjamin Young, who was then the deputy surveyor general of the province of Maryland, and as such had the appointment of the deputy surveyors of the respective

²⁰ John Leeds Bozman, Esq. of Easton, between whom and myself there has continued an uninterrupted intimacy and friendship from that time, and who for several years past, has officiated as my deputy for Talbot and Caroline counties.—L. M.'s footnote.

²¹ The late honorable John Leeds of Talbot county, who was then one of the judges of the provincial court, and had been one of Lord Baltimore's commissioners for settling the lines between him and W. Penn, of their respective provinces—he was far advanced in life, and a gentleman of great knowledge and information—young as I was when an acquaintance commenced, I acquired his friendship and esteem, with which I was honored until his death.—L. M.'s footnote.

counties; while with him he offered me the deputation for the county of Queen Ann, of which by a letter dated from Kent-Island, October 24th 1770, as I returned, I gave information to the then deputy surveyor. The letter was as follows:

" Dear Sir,

" I left Colonel Young's yesterday, and am sorry to inform you that he designs to displace you. Should you settle with him immediately, perhaps you may prevent it. You having neglected that, is, I believe, his only complaint. He made me an offer of the commission you hold, which I declined,—I should but ill have requitted the kindness I received from you, while I lived in Queen-Ann had I done otherwise.

" Yours, &c.

" L. MARTIN.

" Mr. James Emory

" Deputy Surveyor,
" of Queen-Ann."

And in a letter written by me, a few days, after, to a friend, to whom I mentioned Colonel Young's offer, I find this passage "my principle motive for declining it was, that the surveyor of that county was a person with whom I had a particular intimacy while I lived in that place; I could not endure he should have any reason to think me base enough to do him an injury. No, if I cannot get bread without taking it from the mouth of a friend, let me starve!"

On my return, I spent near a week, in Talbot, with Mr. Leeds and his daughter, the mother of Mr. Bozman,—her son accompanied me as far as Back-Creek, to resume his studies;—at which place I staid two days with my friends, and arrived at Onancock about the second of November, where I again resumed the care of the school, and the prosecution of my studies, until about the first of September in the year of our Lord, seventeen hundred and seventy one; when I waited upon John Randolph, Esq. the then attorney-general of Virginia, and George Wythe, Esq. the present chancellor of that state, at Williamsburgh, and having undergone the examination required by the acts of assembly of that colony, I received a licence authorising me to practice law in the county courts throughout Virginia, and on the 24th of September, 1771, qualified in Accomack county.

It had been my design whenever I should obtain a licence, to fix my residence some where in the upper part of the Northern-Neck, or in parts still more westward in Virginia. And, at as early a period as possible, to make a tour throughout that part of the country to determine on the place: Accordingly having continued the prosecution of my studies until the month of April in the year 1772, I went to Williamsburgh

where the general court was then sitting, and remained there until the end of its session, during which time I formed an acquaintance with many very respectable characters, and particularly with the gentlemen of the bar, who attended that court, among whom were the present judge of appeals and the present chancellor of Virginia, John Blair, Esq. and the late Patrick Henry, John Tazewell, and Thompson Mason, Esq. with the last of whom I had the pleasure to travelling from Williamsburg, as he returned home to his seat in Loudon county. Having continued with that gentleman some days, and received from him the utmost politeness and hospitality, I proceeded to Berkeley, in which county I remained ten or more days, much of that time in the family of colonel Samuel Washington, where I found all that kindness and those friendly attentions I had before experienced while at Mr. Masons. By Mr. Washington I was introduced to other gentlemen of the county, and, among others, to the late General Stevens, who obligingly furnished me with a letter to Colonel Frazer of Bedford; and one or both of those gentlemen gave me letters to Lord Fairfax and to his nephew Colonel Thomas Bryan Martin. In Frederick I spent several days, most agreeably, at his seat not far from Winchester, with colonel Martin, Lord Fairfax was not at home. Before we parted, it was settled that if I fixed on the western part of the Northern Neck for the sphere of my practice, I was to receive the appointment, under his lordship, of a surveyor for one of the counties, as soon as there should be a vacancy.—From Colonel Martin's I proceeded according to appointment, which while in Berkeley I had made with George Brent, Esq.²² whom I had there seen, to meet him at Colonel Thomas Cresap's, in Old Town, on a particular day from which place I was to accompany him to Red-Stone and Fort-Pitt.

Mr. Brent and myself there met according to our agreement, and after having staid a few days with Colonel Cresap, and his son, Captain Michael Cresap, we departed for Red-Stone and Pittsburg; our route was by Braddock's-Road. On this journey I had the pleasure of beholding Will's-Creek—Fort-Cumberland—the Little and the Big meadows, Fort-Necessity—Laurel-Hill, and the other parts of the Alleghany Mountains—Fort-Redstone—Braddock's-Fields—Fort-Du-Quense, with the Alleghany and Ohio rivers, and many other objects, of all which, during the war, when a little boy, I had heard and read so much.

While at Fort-Pitt, I spent my time most agreeably. I recollect among those with whom I there became acquainted, Major Ward, Captain McKee, and the late Colonel George Croghan; besides these there was, at that time, a garrison in the fort consisting of a detachment of the Royal Irish, of which many of the officers appeared to be polite and respectable men.

²² This gentleman married the grand-daughter of col. Cresap, and the only child of Thomas Cresap, esq. who in an engagement between a party which he commanded, and the indians, killed the indian chief, and was killed by him.—L. M.'s footnote.

At Fort-Pitt, and the settlement in the neighbourhood of Red-Stone, I remained, I believe, upwards of three weeks. On my return, I staid a day with Major Ennis at Fort-Cumberland—I then arrived at Old-Town, where I spent a few days with the two Mr. Cresaps, the father and the son. The kind attentions, the friendly civilities, I on this journey received from that truly hospitable family, gave rise to that connexion, which eleven years after took place between them and myself, and by which I became the happy husband of the amiable daughter of the one, and grand daughter of the other.²³

The evening after I left Old-Town I reached the house of my fellow traveller, Mr. Brent, who had returned before me. With him I spent the next day, being Sunday; and on Monday I went to the Warm Springs,²⁴ in Berkeley, from which Mr. Brent lived about six miles distant. At the Springs I found a great resort of company. There, for the first time, I became acquainted with many respectable characters, of both sexes, with whom I have ever since been in habits of friendly intimacy, among others, I there, for the first time, after we had parted at Princeton, met with Mr. Clagett, the present right reverend Bishop of Maryland.—Six weeks I passed most happily at the Berkley springs, when the season being nearly over, and, the company dispersing, I set my face homeward. As I passed through Loudon, I revisited Mr. Mason, and again for a few days partook of his friendly hospitality. As I came down the Potomac, I viewed, for the only time in my life the Great Falls. It was a little before sunset—The scene has never effaced from my memory. I spent a day in Alexandria, it was the first time I had ever seen that city; from thence I crossed into Maryland, to visit Mr. Clagett, whom, before we parted at the springs, I had promised to see, on my return. From Maryland I again re-crossed the Potomac, at Hoe's-Ferry, into Virginia. I had also promised Mr. Coulston, who left me at the Springs, that I would not pass through the Northern-Neck without waiting upon him. With him I spent a few days and by him was introduced to several of his respectable friends and relations, the late Rhodam Kenner, Esq. and the present Colonel Peachy I remember to be of the number. In Westmoreland county I remained near a fortnight, in the family of the late John Augustine Washington, Esq.²⁵ at the mouth of Nominy. By him and his very amiable lady I was treated with all that parental affection,

²³ As Miss Cresap was returning home from Philadelphia, where she had been educated under Mrs. Brodeau, she made a short stay in Baltimore; accidentally hearing that a young lady of that name was in town, I originally waited upon her solely from the motive of in some measure repaying, by my attentions to a daughter of the family, the kindness and hospitality I had received from her parents and relations. But for that circumstance, it is more than probable I should never have seen her.—L. M.'s footnote.

²⁴ Now Berkeley Springs, W. Va.

²⁵ The father of the honourable Bushrod Washington, one of the judges of the supreme court of the United States, the possession of whose friendship and esteem is to me a source of pleasure.—L. M.'s footnote.

which hath endeared and ever will endear their memories to my heart. From Nominy I passed down through Northumberland to Mr. Lee's, near Chesapeak. In that neighbourhood I had the pleasure of finding an old acquaintance, Doctor Armstrong, who had been for some time a fellow student and class mate of mine at Princeton college. He was the son of General Armstrong, formerly of Pennsylvania, so celebrated for his bravery in the Indian wars, particularly against the Indian Captain Jacob. At Mr. Lee's, and occasionally, with Doctor Armstrong, by whom I was also introduced to all their respectable friends, I remained two or three weeks, until a boat was ready to sail, bound to the Eastern-Shore of Virginia, of which I availed myself, and returned to my former home about six months after I had left it; than which, perhaps, no six months of my life ever bestowed upon me more pure and rational pleasure while passing—or when past, on reflection.

On my return, I found that events had during my absence, taken place, which totally changed my plan, and have given, to a great degree, a colour to the subsequent part of my life. Almost immediately after I had left the Eastern Shore, John Murray, Esq. son of Captain Murray of Somerset county, a lawyer of most promising talents, who practised in Somerset and Worcester counties, on his passage from Cambridge to Annapolis, lost his life by the boat's oversetting and filling. And before I returned George Handy, Esq. a lawyer of great respectability was dead and Littleton Dennis, Esq. the very worthy and respectable father of the member for congress of that name, who was most eminent in his profession, was dead or dying; both these gentlemen practised in Somerset and Worcester counties, and the last of them had practised in Accomack.

The death of those three gentlemen, had made so great a change, and had left so fair a field for the exertion of legal abilities, that I suffered myself to be, by a few sanguine, partial friends, flattered into the hope, that I might enter thereon with some prospect of success!

I immediately commenced the practice of law in Accomack and Northampton, in Virginia, where the county courts were held monthly and at the next ensuing November courts of Somerset and Worcester, where the courts were held four times a year, I applied, and was admitted as an attorney.

From that time I made my residence in Somerset and regularly attended the courts of those four counties, until the interruption of business, which took place in the early part of the revolution. At the time of that interruption my practice had become, nearly or quite, equal to a thousand pounds a year, with every prospect of encrease. The revolutionary measures, then thought necessary to be adopted, and which received my assent, not only in a great degree, cut me off from future business, but also deprived me of the benefits arising from the suits, in which I was then employed, by putting a stop to the completion of those suits. From that period, until the courts of justice were again opened, I was engaged in a variety of pursuits, some professional, and some of a different nature.

I was occasionally employed in cases of admiralty jurisdiction—and in one or two important appeals to the congress of the United States.²⁶ Soon as a court was established at Williamsburgh for criminal business, which was much sooner than they were organized for suits of a civil nature, I was the constant attendant on that court; and devoting my time and attention to the criminal law, for the purpose of enabling me the better to defend those, who were accused; which I did most successfully;²⁷ I thereby acquired all that knowledge and information, which rendered me able the more effectually to prosecute and convict those, who were guilty of crimes, when it became my duty to become their prosecutor.

In the intermediate time and immediately after, having entered on the practice of the law, I became a resident of Somerset, the trustees of Back-Creek school, who were among the most respectable gentlemen in that county, chose me without my solicitation, to fill a vacancy which happened in their number. And in the autumn of the year one thousand seven hundred and seventy-four, while attending the courts in Virginia, I was by that portion of the inhabitants of Somerset, who approved the opposition to the claims of Great Britain, in my absence and without being consulted elected, not only a member of the committee for the country; but also one of their representatives to the convention, which was held at Annapolis in the month of December following; which convention I attended.

My firm and decided support of the opposition to the unwarrantable claims of Great-Britain, which caused our revolution, is well known, and that at a time when, and in a place where, it indeed "tried men's souls"—for there was a period of considerable duration, throughout which, not only myself, but many others, acting in the same manner, did not lay down one night on their beds, without the hazard of waking on board a British armed ship, or in the other world. Notwithstanding which I can say without fear of contradiction, my conduct to those, whom, from the political state of the country, I was obliged to counteract and oppose, was so free from any thing like wanton insult, personal enmity, rancour or malignity, that instead of finding at this period a personal enemy in their number, I received from them proofs of esteem and regard.

When the Howes were on their way to the Chesapeak, they published a manifesto or proclamation particularly addressed to the inhabitants on that part of the United States against which they were then directing their

²⁶ Particularly in one for James Ingram, Esq. of Williamsburgh—son of the once provost of Glasgow college, in which I not only procured him, upon the appeal to congress, a decree for the restitution of his property, but afterwards attended court with him at Williamsburgh and saw it restored to him.—L. M.'s footnote.

²⁷ To the best of my recollection, I was counsel at that court for thirty criminals, of whom twenty-nine were acquitted—the thirtieth charged with murder was convicted of manslaughter. I also procured the judgment to be arrested in the case of captain Davis, who had once been the servant of General Washington, and who was by the jury found guilty of treason.—L. M.'s footnote.

operations. The answer to which address directed to the Howes, as also an address²⁸ to the inhabitants of the Peninsula between Delaware River Bay and the Chesapeak to the southward of the British lines, and distributed among them in hand-bills, were from my pen.

On the eleventh day of February in the year of our Lord, one thousand seven hundred and seventy eight, is dated the commission by which I have holden to this time the office of Attorney-General of this state. The express, by which it was sent, found me in Accomack, very busily engaged in directions to artificers, who were employed in the erection of works for manufacturing salt,—So little did I expect to receive that appointment;—which was bestowed upon me without solicitation.

I qualified as Attorney-General in the criminal court of Baltimore county, on the twentieth day of May in the same year, and almost immediately after moved to Baltimore-Town, in which or its vicinity I have ever since resided.

From the time I left Queen-Anne until my arrival in Baltimore, I found in the worthy and hospitable Levin Gale, Esq. and his highly esteemed and respectable lady, kind and affectionate parents; and scarce ever did a young man, perhaps, receive with more delight a proof of esteem and confidence more dear to his heart, than when they placed under my care, to be instructed in the law, their eldest son a few years younger than myself—that son who at this time lives in Cecil county, and is in the number of my friends, and, who has with honour served both this state and the United States in the most respectable appointments they could bestow upon him.

One of the first acts I did after I received my commission was to send a letter to Robert Wright, Esq. who had just entered into the practice of the law, requesting him to inform me in what counties he attended, and whether it would be agreeable to him to accept deputations from me to prosecute in those courts: in consequence of his answer, I appointed him my deputy for the counties of Kent, Queen-Anne, and Talbot. His respectable father, who was afterwards one of the Judges of our court of appeals, did me the honour to accept a deputation for Caroline county.

Be this a proof whether my heart is formed for ingratitude or likely in the hour of prosperity to forget those who, in the day of adversity had shown to me civilities and kindness, much less those, had any such been, who should have, to their loss or expence, conferred on me great and essential services. Be this also a proof whether while I lived in Queen-Anne my conduct was ever such as ought to have excited a blush in my cheeks or the cheeks of my friends, or whether I left Queen-Anne on account of any such conduct. Nay more, whether the conduct was of such a nature that, even to "state" it should cause a blush on the bronze face of ----- I need no term of reproach other than that of Richard Raynall Keene, Esquire.²⁹

²⁸ This was published in Dunlap's Maryland Gazette of September 9, 1777. The other was published in Goddard's paper about the same time.—L. M.'s footnote.

²⁹ "I blush to state the cause." Page 50 of Keene's Letter to Luther Martin, Esq.—L. M.'s footnote.

Had such been my conduct, had I left Queen-Anne dishonored or disgraced would gentlemen of such respectability of character, with full knowledge of the fact, thus sanction my appointment to so an important an office, by being the first to receive appointments under me! !

Would the honourable Mr. Leeds have given me those proofs of his friendship and esteem, had infamy attached to me while in Queen-Anne,—nay, should I have been admitted into the number of his acquaintance,—and can it be believed that living at so short a distance, he should have remained all that time in ignorance of my conduct had any part of it warranted the base insinuation. . . .³⁰

Want Water, Prince George's Co.—Marylanders will be pleased to learn that "Want Water" will not go the way of "Barnaby Manor" and so many of the State's other distinguished buildings no longer in existence. Mr. and Mrs. Charles Wallace Collins of "Harmony Hall" are restoring the old house which has crowded the bank of Wide Water Cove in the Broad Creek area of Prince George's County since the 1704-1708 era. Building activity has recently been started and it is believed that its panelling which Dr. Henry Chandlee Forman described as "rich . . . in ruinous condition" can be saved, for the most part. Most references treat of the old Lyles (and Addison) House and the *Historic American Building Survey* editors found sufficient interest here that its floor plan forms one of the three illustrations in the Maryland section of the Catalog. On completion, the "Harmony Hall" estate will possess an unusual combination of three distinct examples of Colonial architecture: the mansion house of brick; "Want Water," of brick ends and frame sides; and the "Old House near Harmony Hall," all frame. Nearby St. John's Church (1723) contributes to a remarkable grouping of early Maryland within the shadow of the Nation's Capital.

JAMES C. WILFONG, JR.,
725 13th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

Gantt-Cole—Can someone tell me the marriage place and date of Polly Cole to Charles Gantt of Calvert Co.; also her date of birth and death. Gantt, born 1773, was son of Thomas Gantt 4th and Susanna Mackall. After death of his first wife Mary Parron he married Polly Cole between 1810 and 1820. There were two daughters by this marriage: Mary Gantt who married John Tweedal of Baltimore and Eliza Ann Gantt who married John Wood of Calvert Co.

Mrs. JOSEPH LEITER, 3rd,
5406 Willomere Way, Baltimore 12.

³⁰ A few liberties have been taken with Martin's punctuation, especially in the elimination of scores of dashes that pepper the original.—*Ed.*

Lloyd—Will appreciate any information regarding ancestry of Wm. Lloyd (Jr. ?), born March 24, 1800, died 1883, and his wife, Esther Mezick-Messick. Both born in Delaware, died in Maryland.

Mrs. JAMES W. ROGERS, JR.,
5012 56th Place, Rogers Heights, Hyattsville.

Thompson—Information wanted regarding place of burial of John Thompson who was born Oct., 1777, at Berwick-on-Tweed, Scotland. He arrived in Baltimore, 1842, died 1856, resided in the city at the time of his death. He was a member of Baltimore St. Andrews Society. He was father of Jean Kerr Thompson Duval, wife of Dr. Wm. W. Duval of "Goodwood," Prince George's Co.

Mrs. HUGH P. LECLAIR,
Friendship, Anne Arundel Co., Md.

CONTRIBUTORS

GOVERNOR MCKELDIN, a member of our Society, has on many occasions demonstrated a profound interest in the history of Maryland and the Nation. ☆ MRS. PEABODY contributes in this issue the final selection of Governor Lee letters. ☆ The scholarly activities of DR. GORDON are well known in Maryland. ☆ MR. MARYE is a noted local historian and an officer of the Society.

☆ ☆ ☆ ☆

☆ ☆ ☆ ☆

★ HISTORY REPEATS . . . ★

★ Every six months when FRATER-NITY pays liberal dividends on INSURED Savings. (Our 84th consecutive dividend will be paid June 30, 1955. We've never missed one!)

Let FRATERNITY help *YOU* build a secure, comfortable future!

DON'T DELAY — SAVE TODAY,
the Friendly FRATERNITY WAY

* SAVINGS RECEIVED BY THE
10TH EARN DIVIDENDS FOR THE
ENTIRE MONTH.

FRATERNITY FEDERAL

SAVINGS & LOAN ASSN.

764 Washington Blvd.
Baltimore 3, Md.

* LIBERAL DIVIDENDS * INSURED
* Speedy SAVE-by-MAIL
* PARK FREE
★ OPEN DAILY 9-2; SATS. 9-12 noon ★
★ ☆ ☆ ☆ ☆ ☆ ☆ ☆ ☆ ☆

Flatter your home with truly distinctive creations for less money than you ever dreamed.

TRADITIONAL FURNITURE

*

CURTAINS

*

DRAPERIES

*

SLIP COVERS

Decorator service without cost.
Estimates without obligation.

Wm. P. Stein

Inc.

409 North Charles Street
Phone: LEx. 9-3384

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISING

BAROMETERS

WILLIAM G. BOETTINGER
Barometer Expert

3812 Woodbine Ave. LI 2-0374

Old English Wheel Barometer Mechanism Repaired and Adjusted

BOOKBINDING

FRANK W. LINNEMANN
1 North Paca St. (Formerly 233 Park Ave.)

Magazines, medical books, Old books rebound

PHOTOGRAPHY

THE HUGHES COMPANY
C. Gaither Scott

213 West Monument Street, Baltimore

PHOTOSTATS & BLUEPRINTS

Baltimore Photo & Blue Print Co.
211 East Baltimore St.

Photo copying of old records, genealogical charts
and family papers. Enlargements. Coats of Arms.

LE 9-6881

PLUMBING — HEATING

M. NELSON BARNES

Established 1909

BE 5-2572

3 West 23rd St.

BOOKS ABOUT MARYLAND

Published by the Maryland Historical Society

(Maryland sales tax to be added)

The Dulany's of Maryland, by Aubrey C. Land.	\$ 6.00
Baltimore as Seen by Visitors, 1783-1860, by Raphael Semmes. (Illustrated.)	4.25
History of the 110th Field Artillery, by Col. John P. Cooper, Jr. (Illustrated.)	6.00
His Lordship's Patronage: Offices of Profit in Colonial Maryland, by Donnell M. Owings.	6.15
Maryland in World War II: Vol. I, Military, by H. R. Manakee.	3.25
Maryland in World War II: Vol. II, Industry and Agriculture, by H. R. Manakee.	3.25
History of Queen Anne's County, by Frederic Emory.	7.75
The Maryland Press, 1777-1790, by Joseph T. Wheeler. 1938. .	4.20
Calendar of Otho Holland Williams Papers, by Elizabeth Merritt (mimeographed, paper covers). 1940.	2.75
Barbara Frietschie, by Dorothy M. and W. R. Quynn. 1945. 45 pages	1.10
Old Wye Church, Talbot County, Maryland, by Elizabeth Merritt. 1949.55
Portraits Painted before 1900 in the Collections of the Maryland Historical Society, by A. W. Rutledge. 1946.	1.00
Portraits in Varied Media in the Collections of the Maryland Historical Society, by A. W. Rutledge. 1946.60
St. Mémin in Maryland. Loan Exhibition of Portraits. 1951. (Illustrated.)50
Amelung glass. An Exhibition. 1952. 20 pages. (Illustrated.)	1.00
Sailing Craft of the Chesapeake Bay. 1951. (Illustrated folder.)	.10
Descendants of Richard and Elizabeth (Ewen) Talbot of . . . West River, compiled by Ida M. Shirk. 1927.	15.20
The Sweetser Family of Maryland, by Lester D. Gardner. 9 pages.50
Chronicles of Mistress Margaret Brent, by Mary E. W. Ramey. 1915. 12 pages.60

IN 1896—

when we were 17 years old

—A tornado struck St. Louis and adjacent areas causing loss of 306 lives and \$12,000,000 damage—May 27.

—The Baltimore Orioles for the third time in succession captured the championship of the National League winning 90 games and losing 39.

—Enoch Pratt died—September 17.

—A tropical storm visited Maryland with property damage of over \$2,000,000. No loss of life—September 29.

—William McKinley was elected President and Garret A. Hobart Vice President, Republicans, by popular vote of 7,102,503 against 6,349,491 for William Jennings Bryan and Arthur Sewall, Democrats—November 3.

—11,718 immigrants arrived in the port of Baltimore during the year.

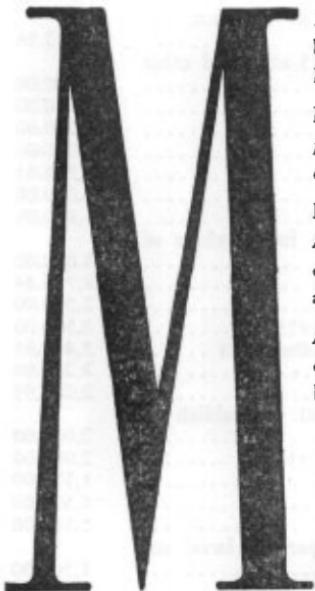
Now as then, with 60 more years of experience behind it, Monumental is equipped to handle all kinds of packing, moving and storing.

Modern vans and trucks, together with *experienced personnel*, insure the competent handling of all orders.

Monumental's plant has kept pace with the times . . . A large, daylight plant is devoted exclusively to rug cleaning and storage, with departments for repairing and dyeing.

A reinforced concrete, sprinkler-protected warehouse contains vaults for household effects . . . storage and burglar-proof vaults for art objects and silver.

Rely on the experience and integrity of 75 years



Monumental
STORAGE AND CARPET CLEANING COMPANY
1110 PARK AVE. • SARATOGA 3480
MOVING • STORAGE • RUG CLEANING

BENEFACTORS AND CONTRIBUTORS TO THE FUNDS OF THE SOCIETY

Mary Washington Keyser, Gift in memory of her husband, H. Irvine Keyser, of the buildings and grounds of the Society, 1916.	
William S. Thomas, Very large estate payable after termination of a life estate.	
Elise Agnes Daingerfield, Bequest, 1949	\$154,248.00
Elizabeth S. M. Wild, Bequest, 1950,	63,906.55
Judge Walter J. Dawkins, Bequest, 1936, \$500, and interest in residuary estate not yet accrued.	
Jane James Cook, Bequest, 1945, \$1,000., and other gifts; and 3/40 of annual income of residuary estate.	
Mrs. Thomas Courtney Jenkins, Purchase of Star-Spangled Banner MS., erection of marble niche, 1953, gift of Key portraits and renovation of Key Room, 1952	38,225.45
H. Oliver Thompson, Bequest, 1937, one-half of annual income from trust estate, and ultimately one-half of estate outright.	
George Peabody, 1866	20,000.00
J. Wilson Leakin, Bequest, 1923	10,000.00
Susan Dobbins Leakin, Preparation of J. Wilson Leakin room and contribution to its contents, 1924.	
George L. Radcliffe, Large contributions cash and otherwise.	
J. B. Noel Wyatt, Bequest, 1949	9,685.23
Drayton Meade Hite, Bequest, 1923, \$6,000., and other gifts	7,000.00
National Society Daughters of Founders and Patriots of America, For binding and restoration of manuscripts	6,632.36
Arthur A. Houghton, Jr., For Queen Anne's History, \$5,000., and other gifts	6,000.00
Prewitt Semmes, For Semmes Genealogy, 1954	5,650.00
Mendes Cohen, Bequest, 1915	5,000.00
Caroline J. Lytle, Bequest, 1928	5,000.00
Mary B. Redwood, Bequest, 1941	4,378.43
Mrs. Drayton Meade Hite, Bequest, 1927	4,000.00
Raphael Semmes, Bequest \$3,000., and other gifts	3,140.00
Eleanor P. Passano, In memory of Edward B. Passano for purchase of books	3,000.00
John E. Semmes, For Studies in Maryland History, 1953	2,726.14
Anonymous	2,500.00
Mrs. Francis C. Little, For portrait of Bishop Claggett, 1953	2,500.00
Charlotte Gilman Paul, Bequest, 1955, \$1,630.85, and other gifts	2,405.85
Jacob France	2,200.00
Anonymous	2,027.97
Sally Randolph Carter, Bequest, 1939, \$1,000., and \$1,000. to establish the Marie Worthington Conrad Lehr room	2,000.00
Mrs. Sumner A. Parker, For annual genealogical prize, 1945	2,000.00
Mrs. DeCourcy W. Thom	1,550.00
Van Lear Black	1,500.00
Washington Perine, Bequest, 1944	1,500.00
Eleanor S. Cohen, To furnish room in memory of her parents, Israel and Cecilia E. Cohen	1,300.00
Mrs. Thomas B. Gresham, Bequest, 1926	1,200.00
Charles Exley Calvert	1,150.00
Mrs. Charles P. Blinn, Jr., For Studies in Maryland History and other gifts	1,100.00

Samuel K. Dennis, Bequest, 1953	1,000.00
Isaac Henry Ford, Bequest, 1916	1,000.00
Anna B. C. Hambleton, Bequest, 1940	1,000.00
W. Hall Harris, Sr.	1,000.00
Mary Parkhurst Hayden, Bequest, 1934	1,000.00
M. Ella Hoopes, Bequest, 1942	1,000.00
Sewell Key, Bequest, 1948	1,000.00
Isaac F. Nicholson	1,000.00
Isaac Tyson Norris	1,000.00
Emilie McKim Reed, Bequest, 1926	1,000.00
Clinton L. Riggs, Bequest, 1938	1,000.00
J. Henry Stickney, Bequest, 1892	1,000.00
Henry Stockbridge	1,000.00
DeCourcy W. Thom	1,000.00
Mrs. W. Calvin Chesnut, Bequest, 1942	925.00
F. Sims McGrath, For Bordley Papers and other purposes	833.25
Misses Elizabeth Gray and Julia McHenry Howard, For Studies in Maryland History, and other gifts	758.33
Maryland Society Colonial Dames of America, For restoration of manuscripts	748.55
Mr. and Mrs. Morgan B. Schiller, For restoration of Lloyd Papers	650.00
Augusta M. Libby, Bequest \$500., 1946, and other gifts	625.00
Hendler Foundation	600.00
Louis S. Zimmerman	600.00
Mrs. William R. Milford, For Amelung goblet	553.00
J. Gilman D'Arcy Paul	550.00
W. G. Baker, Jr.	500.00
Mrs. John Nicholas Brown	500.00
Buck Glass Company, For Amelung goblet	500.00
Mrs. W. Hall Harris, Sr.	500.00
Rebecca Lanier King, Bequest, 1928	500.00
Mrs. William Milnes Maloy, For purchase of Jefferson Papers	500.00
Neil H. Swanson	500.00
R. C. Ballard Thruston, Bequest, 1946	500.00
Vanderbilt University, For Studies in Maryland History No. 3	500.00
Adelaide S. Wilson	500.00
J. Appleton Wilson	500.00
William Power Wilson	500.00
Moses S. and Blanch H. Hecht Foundation	462.00
Charles McHenry Howard	433.33
Maryland Society Daughters of Founders and Patriots of America, For restoration of manuscripts	361.00
Miss Ethel M. Miller	350.00
McHenry Howard	333.34
Mrs. Mildred Siegel, For gallery installation	322.66
Arunah S. A. Brady	300.00
Simon Dalsheimer	300.00
Mrs. Frank M. Dick	300.00
George de Geofroy	300.00
Mrs. Brantz Mayer Roszel, Bequest, 1954	300.00
Miles White, Jr.	300.00
Miss Virginia Appleton Wilson	300.00
Calvert Distillers Corporation, For cleaning portrait	275.86
Joseph Katz	275.00
Maryland Society Daughters of Colonial Wars	260.00
Baltimore Ice Cream Centennial	250.00
Heyward E. Boyce, Bequest, 1950	250.00
Hugo Dalsheimer	250.00
Robert Garrett	250.00
L. Manuel Hendler	250.00
William Milnes Maloy Memorial, Gift of employees	250.00
J. Hall Pleasants	250.00
Ida M. Shirk, Bequest, 1949, \$200., and other gifts	200.00

Joseph E. Smith	250.00
S. M. Drayer	200.00
Jacob Epstein	200.00
Mrs. Harold Duane Jacobs	200.00
Maryland Society United Daughters of the Confederacy	200.00
Edward B. Passano	200.00
Mrs. Arthur Robeson	200.00
Henry F. Reese	200.00
Miss Elizabeth Chew Williams	200.00
Nellie C. Williams	200.00
Mrs. Frances Eaton Weld	175.00
Mrs. William S. Hilles	150.00
Charles C. Homer, Jr.	150.00
Addison C. Mullikin	150.00
Louis H. Dielman	125.00
Douglas H. Gordon	125.00
Samuel E. Wilson	120.00

The following have contributed \$100.00 each either to the Endowment Fund or for other purposes:

Philip A. Beatty	R. C. Hoffman	Elizabeth Grant McIlvain
Mrs. Harvey G. Beck	Bryden Bordley Hyde	Carl Ross McKenrick
Mrs. A. B. Bibbins	Henry P. Hynson	Robert G. Merrick
John E. Bordley	Hutzler Fund, Inc.	John H. Morgan
Fred G. Boyce, Jr.	William Ingle	F. C. Nicodemus, Jr.
Mrs. Zelina C. Brunschwig	Jane Griffith Keys	S. Bernard November
John G. Buck	Miss Margaret Myrtle	Florence Belle Ogg
Mrs. Stockton Buzby	Lankford	Pratt D. Phillips
Milton Campbell	Joseph LaPides	Katherine Bibb Stehman
Charles M. Cohn	Mrs. Rebecca Littlejohn	Bernard C. Steiner
Mrs. Virginia B. Davies	Mrs. James H. Lovell	Washington County Historical Society
Alexander E. Duncan	Maryland Credit Finance	John Purdon Wright
Eastern Shore Society of Baltimore City	Corporation	
	Henry deCourcy May	

For other contributions, including those donated in connection with payment of annual dues, the Society makes grateful acknowledgment.

Gifts of various funds, many of large amounts, have been received to advance the cause of historical preservation and increase appreciation of our Maryland heritage. These have been used for contemplated purposes for the benefit of the people of Maryland without direct advantage to the Society and have not been included in the general funds listed above.

Mrs. Edgar W. Garisch, Old Trinity Restoration	Ramsay, Scarlett & Co.
Lawrence S. Rockefeller	Chapel of Ease, Taylor's Island, Restoration
	Anonymous contributions.

For the gift of objects, books and papers, far too numerous to list here, which have been received in the century and more since it was founded, the Society records this expression of its lasting gratitude. These contributions from countless members and friends have made the Society a major storehouse of state and national treasures